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Edited by the

REV. ARTHUR E. GREGORY

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW FAITH

BY

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, M.A.

London:

CHARLES H. KELLY,

2, CASTLE ST., CITY RD.; AND 66, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1896.

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THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW FAITH.

NOTES UPON THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

CONTAINED IN

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY W. FIDDIAN MOULTON, M.A.,

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ASSISTANT MASTER AT THE LEYS SCHOOL.

London:

CHARLES H. KELLY,

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1896.

PREFACE

THIS little book is in no wise intended to augment the already large catalogue of commentaries on the Acts, nor does it pretend to give any systematic account of Apostolic doctrine. Its object is expressed with tolerable exactness by its title, for it is mainly concerned with the relations of the early Church to its environment, both Jewish and Roman. It therefore differs from Dr. Watson's *In the Apostolic Age* in that it views the Church along its circumference, while Dr. Watson views it from the centre; and my purpose closely resembles what he declares, in the opening words of his Preface, to be outside the scope of *his* book, although I had begun writing before I had seen it.

What I have just said renders it almost superfluous to say that of those whose works I have used, to no one do I owe more than to Professor Ramsay, whose *St. Paul as a Traveller and Roman Citizen* is not only a storehouse of learning, but also a perpetual source of inspiration, which is not always true of such storehouses. Occasionally I have taken the liberty of differing from him, availing myself of a young man's undoubted right to criticise his betters; but no difference upon points of detail will ever cause me to forget that his writings, and mainly the book above mentioned, have given me a new and far wider interest in the Acts, which experience I probably share with very many other readers. Next to Professor Ramsay, I have been aided most by Bishop Lightfoot's writings, particularly the dissertations in his commentaries on *Galatians* and *Philippians*, the volume of *Biblical Essays*, published since his death, and the most comprehensive article on the Acts in the new edition of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, which takes the place

of the meagre article contained in the original edition. Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*—a book which owes its unpopularity to its being selected as a pass subject for the Cambridge “Previous,” rather than to demerits of its own—afforded me valuable suggestions concerning the points dealt with in Part I. of the Introduction; and from the writings of Professor Fisher, Dr. Pressensé, and Dr. Schaff I also derived much assistance. I owe Professor Findlay my best thanks for allowing me to annex the map from his book on the Pauline Epistles in this series, a book which I never consulted without advantage; and I am also indebted to my friend and colleague Mr. St. J. B. Wynne-Willson, M.A., for his unfailing kindness in giving me the benefit of his classical learning. Finally, and beyond all, I am indebted to my father, not only for his specific instruction upon points concerning which I have consulted him, but for my interest in Bible study which has resulted from constant intercourse with one whose whole life has been spent in that field. But though

this book thus owes to him the greater portion of whatever value there is in it, he is in no wise responsible for its faults of omission or commission, for the stress of his own work rendered it impossible for him to do more than glance through some of the proof-sheets and make a few suggestions at that late stage.

W. F. M.

November 1896.

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THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW FAITH

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW FAITH

INTRODUCTION

PART I. THE STATE OF THE WORLD AT THE COMING OF
CHRIST.

„ II. THE BOOK OF ACTS AND ITS HERO.

I. i. The Coming of Christ coincided with the time of
man's greatest need.

(a) In the Jewish world, where all independence
had been lost under a succession of foreign
rulers—Persian, Greek, and Roman.—and where
religion tended to degenerate into mere cere-
monialism.

(b) In the Roman world as a whole, where the lack
of a faith had resulted in complete moral
degeneration.

ii. Grounds on which the New Faith was likely to
provoke hostility.

(a) On the part of the Jews : because

1. *Their* conception of the Messiah was far
from being fulfilled in Jesus.
2. Jesus disparaged ritual and ceremony in
religion.

2 THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW FAITH

3. The Sadducees rejected all belief in a future state.
 - (b) On the part of the Roman Government : because
 1. They misconceived the nature of Christ's "Kingdom."
 2. They dreaded secret societies of all kinds.
 3. The refusal of the Christians to sacrifice to the Genius of the Emperor was regarded as a sign of disloyalty.
 - (c) On the part of average citizens : because
 1. They resented the exclusiveness of Christianity and the unsociability of Christians.
 2. Christianity damaged vested interests in several directions.
- II. i. The book itself : repeatedly referred to by the early Fathers, although under a variety of titles.
- ii. The book has always been assigned by tradition to Luke, the writer of the Third Gospel : this is supported by the internal evidence, especially that which is afforded by
- (a) The introduction (1 1-5).
 - (b) The use of "we" in certain portions of the narrative of Paul's journey, betokening the presence of the writer at the scenes which he describes.
- iii. The date is usually given as between 62 and 64 A.D., though a much later date is accepted by some authorities.
- iv. Tübingen attack upon the Acts : based upon the general allegation that the Christian books were written with the object of supporting theories, and in particular that the Acts was written to induce a belief in a reconciliation between Pauline and Petrine factions which never took place.

- v. Scope of the Acts : an "Introduction to Ecclesiastical History," intended to make clear the means by which the Christian Church survived its early perils and evangelised the world.
- vi. Paul : Story of his life as told by himself :—
 - (a) Early life : born at Tarsus in Cilicia of Jewish parents ; trained during early manhood at Jerusalem under Gamaliel : inherited the Roman citizenship. His cosmopolitanism was the result of his life at Tarsus.
 - (b) The "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12 7) : a disease, the nature of which can only be surmised, probably malaria.
 - (c) His last years. In all probability he was released from the captivity related in Acts 28, and undertook another missionary tour. In that case his death would take place in A.D. 67.

Hail! glorious East, o'er which the light first shone
On this dark world. Man's earliest home ; where he
With all his wondrous powers of mind was taught
Of God to mould his thoughts in words, expressed
In sounds and forms ; speaking to eye and ear.
Great nursery of nations ; whence they all
Derive their race, their noble claim to share
The heritage, the dignity, the hopes
Of man, for earth and heaven. How can the West
E'er pay the debt of love she owes to thee?

J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE, *Paul the Apostle.*

INTRODUCTION

I. The State of the World at the coming of Christ.

I. i. (a) The history of the later years of the Jewish State is a melancholy record of decline. It had been God's purpose concerning the nation, which He had made peculiarly His own, that it should live in isolation from the other nations of the earth, in order that it might develop its own special life, free from the distraction and corruption which would inevitably result from heathen alliances. This purpose was thwarted by the waywardness of the people themselves: they desired to be like unto the other nations of the earth, and they were punished by the fulfilment of their desire. They forfeited, by their disloyalty, the protection and guidance of their God, and were drawn into the whirl of surrounding politics, until at last they were carried away captive to a foreign land. The independence thus lost they never regained. When a section of the nation returned to their native land after a number of years it was by the favour of a foreign monarch, and they remained subject to

the Persian kings so long as that kingdom lasted. They then came under the authority of Alexander, and on his death Palestine formed a bone of contention between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucidæ of Syria, the latter eventually gaining the upper hand. Under this dynasty they suffered cruelly, before they were delivered through the brilliant patriotism of the Maccabees, but even this family of heroes deteriorated in the third generation, and its quarrels gave the Romans the desired ground for interference. That yoke remained upon them until the Romans themselves altogether put an end to the existence of the Jewish State in A.D. 71. With this loss of political independence there had taken place a gradual weakening of the individuality of Judaism. "I believe," says Josephus, "that had the Romans not come upon this wicked race when they did, an earthquake would have swallowed them up, or a flood would have drowned them, or the lightnings of Sodom would have struck them. For this generation was more ungodly than all that had ever suffered such punishments." Greek manners and morals had invaded the upper classes, to the detriment of faith and conduct, and in the Gospel age the most powerful of the Jewish sects was materialistic in its beliefs and worldly in its manner

of life. Among the Pharisees, where was to be found whatever survived of the old Jewish enthusiasm for the law, religious observance had degenerated into mere ritualism, the letter of the law being scrupulously kept, the spirit as consistently ignored. When there was worldliness on the one side and formalism on the other, it is no wonder that the truly devout turned away their eyes from the leaders of the nation, and waited longingly for the promised Messiah who should restore their independence and re-vivify their religion.

(b) But in an even fuller degree did the coming of Jesus coincide with the time of man's greatest need in the world at large. Despite its outward splendour, its all-embracing sway, its real beneficence as a political institution, the Roman Empire lacked one thing—a faith; and, lacking that, it lacked what alone could save it from internal demoralisation and decay. Great soldiers it seldom was without, and great administrators never; but neither soldiers nor administrators, however able, could supply that want, or save that vast Empire from the doom which comes upon a faithless world. It had a religion, but it had no faith; it worshipped gods many and lords many, but as it worshipped it scoffed, for it knew well that its deities could

neither save nor sanctify. At their best, the heathen religions were wanting in moral force and inspiration, while at their worst they were not only unmoral but immoral. That being so, the temples were the last place to which a man would go when seeking help to lead a better life and gain the victory over the power of evil within him. He might go to Philosophy, and learn its cold, hard maxims; or to the Drama, especially if acquainted with that of Greece,—that pulpit of the ancient world,—and there he might derive both instruction and inspiration; but to Religion—never, save as part of a daily round of formal observance, expecting nothing and receiving nothing. Thus, Augustine says of a Roman citizen that “because he was a senator he worshipped what he blamed, he did what he refuted, and adhered to that with which he found fault.” And Seneca, in like manner, after enlarging upon the futility of the popular beliefs, goes on to say that “a wise man will observe them all, not as pleasing to the gods, but as commanded by the laws.”

This being the state of religious belief in Rome, we cannot wonder at the evidence afforded us by the Roman writers of the early Empire, concerning the depravity of the society in which they lived. If Tacitus and Juvenal stood alone

it might be possible to regard their diatribes as partaking of the nature of a literary *tour de force*, where, upon a basis of fact, is built up a brilliant work of imagination. But such an assumption is absolutely out of the question in face of the varied evidence from writers of every class, most of whom make no pretence of posing as moralists, but simply reflect what was done and thought around them. Human life was held so cheap that infanticide was practised whenever it was considered inexpedient to rear the children, and apparently without shocking the moral susceptibilities even of the more humane;¹ slaves, whatever might be their legal claim to protection and redress, were often slain with impunity, for no better reason, maybe, than to gratify the curiosity of a guest who complained that he had never beheld a man in the agony of death;² while the passion of the people, rich and poor alike, for the cruel sports of the arena reveals a delight in sheer brutality which would disgrace the most elementary civilisation. "All things," says Seneca, "are full of crimes and vices. More is perpetrated than can be removed by force. There is a struggle to see which will excel in iniquity. Daily the appetite for sin increases,

¹ Aristotle. *Politics*, vii. 14. 10. Plato, *Republic*, v. 459, 460.

² See Becker's *Gallus*, Excursus iii.

the sense of shame diminishes. Casting away all respect for right and justice, lust hurries whithersoever it will. Crimes are no longer secret ; they stalk before the eyes of men.”¹ It is this cruel, emasculated society that Matthew Arnold so powerfully describes :—

Like ours it looked in outward air,
Its head was clear and true ;
Sumptuous its clothing, rich its fare,
No pause its action knew ;

Stout was its arm, each thew and bone
Seemed puissant and alive—
But, ah ! its heart, its heart was stone,
And so it could not thrive.

On that hard Pagan world disgust
And secret loathing fell ;
Deep weariness and sated lust
Made human life a hell.

In his cool hall with haggard eyes
The Roman noble lay ;
He drove abroad, in furious guise,
Along the Appian way.

He made a feast, drank fierce and fast,
And crowned his hair with flowers—
No easier nor no quicker passed
The impracticable hours.²

It was to this worn-out world that Christianity

¹ *De Ira*, ii. 8.

² *Obermann once more*.

came, bringing not only a new creed, but a new source of inspiration,—a new Truth, a new Way, a new Life. The earliest stage of this world-wide crusade is sketched in the Acts, for, as the beginning of the doing and teaching of Jesus necessarily lay among the Jews, the Gospels have little to say concerning the wider mission of Christianity. It was the duty of the Apostles to take up the work where their Master had left it, and to be “His witnesses, both in Jerusalem (chs. 1–7) and in all Judæa and Samaria (chs. 8–12) and unto the uttermost parts of the earth” (chs. 13–28).

ii. Before passing on to the consideration of the book itself it will be worth while to note some grounds upon which the New Faith was likely to provoke the hostility of the existing order, as thereby we shall be the better prepared to understand the outbreaks when they occur. For convenience this hostility may be considered from three standpoints,—that of the Jew, that of the Roman Government, whether central or provincial, and that of the “man in the street,” the average citizen, of whatever city or province.

(a) 1. The Jewish nation as a whole had committed itself already too deeply against the Christian teaching to be able to view its advance with any other feelings than those of intense

jealousy, hatred, and fear. Even if they did not fear reprisals in the event of Christianity getting the upper hand, the Jews could not possibly contemplate with complacency the idea of the victory of the crucified Nazarene, against whom they had idly expended all their power, and whose triumph meant their own surrender. For we must not ignore the extent to which a devout Jew would be compelled to reconsider his traditional ideas and beliefs upon becoming a Christian. The Messianic idea, which in early times had been vague and only partially appreciated, had grown more definite and had become more widely accepted amid the oppressions which darkened the last three centuries of the Jewish State. "The hopes of the mass of the people were fixed on the prospect of deliverance from their enemies, and the material good things that were to follow. Pious hearts dwelt upon the putting away of national sin, on internal union, peace, and the establishment of a righteous rule. Yet in looking for the Messiah it was only the kingly ideal that was present to their minds. Those other ideals of the suffering servant of Jehovah and the Priest and the Prophet which equally foreshadowed Him, and in reality were prepared that they might be fulfilled in Him, do not seem to have been

regarded as Messianic beforehand.”¹ Even those who came into the closest personal contact with Jesus were unable to entirely divest themselves of the traditional opinion. The disciples who perhaps knew Him best—the sons of Zebedee—seem to have expected Him to come with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty, and in this belief put in their request to sit on His right hand and His left; and those disciples whom He met as they walked to Emmaus only gave voice to the prevailing sentiment of disappointment on the part of the disciples when they exclaimed, “We hoped that it was He that should redeem Israel” (Luke 24 21),—a sorrowful surrender of a belief no longer tenable. And if this was so among those who knew Him best and who had the memory of His great works and greater teaching to strengthen their belief in His Messiahship, can we wonder at the unbelief of Jews who, with fewer advantages, found a stumbling-block in the Crucifixion, when they had been taught to believe that the Messiah would abide for ever?

2. Another difficulty of no small magnitude lay in the attitude of Jesus with reference to those religious ceremonies in which they had been taught to trust; and here again the very existence of a stumbling-block arose from the

¹ Professor Stanton.

unspiritual nature of the ideas which He came to supplant. The Mosaic ritual which had been designed to be the natural help of religion was now in danger of being regarded as constituting religion itself, after being most fantastically developed and enveloped by the traditions of the elders. The fact that the religion of the later Jewish period was a worship of the letter rather than the spirit of the law, as pointed out above, explains the strong words of rebuke directed by Jesus against the Pharisees who tithed mint and anise and cummin, and neglected the weightier matters of the law. 3. And in the last place, the Christians were bound to come into conflict with the powerful party of the Sadducees upon the vital question of the resurrection from the dead, and the life to come. This party rejected all belief in a future state, alleging as the ground of their action that there was nothing taught concerning it in the law of Moses, although it seems only too probable that this was an academic argument against a doctrine which, to worldly-minded men, would be most disquieting.

(b) 1. Passing away from the Jewish nation, scattered as it was over the then known world and yet preserving intact many of its ancient ideas, we come to the Roman Government, whose hostility to the new religion was equally pro-

nounced, although proceeding from widely different motives. First and foremost must be placed that arising from the allusion made by Jesus to His "kingdom," a misunderstanding which was the outcome of that characteristic Roman contempt for all things non-Roman, as being unworthy of even the most perfunctory examination. The priests knew well what they were doing when, unable to shake Pilate's belief in the innocence of his prisoner, they brought forward this claim of Jesus to kingship, coupling with it the adroit application, "If thou release this man, thou art not Cæsar's friend" (John 19 12). The stroke was a clever one, and it met with complete success. Pilate, only too conscious that his cruel administration had made for him many powerful enemies, did not dare to take a step which would give them so effective a weapon against him; so when forced to choose between outraging his sense of justice on the one hand, and, on the other, releasing one whom those enemies—hating Cæsar much but Jesus more—would contrive to represent as a rival for the Imperial throne, he unhesitatingly chose the former, and gave Jesus over to be crucified. It is needless to point out how utterly inconsistent such a theory was with the words and acts of Jesus, but the incident is instructive as affording

an illustration of the manner in which Roman governors treated alien matters; and, after all, this misconception was not so very much further from the truth than the ideas of Peter, James, and John, concerning the earthly kingdom of Jesus. 2. And the misconception becomes more intelligible when regarded in the light of the facts of Imperial government. Under the Empire there is discernible an increasing and uncompromising hostility towards anything of the nature of an association, or, yet more, a secret society. Pliny's letters inform us that even Trajan, one of the best and most enlightened of emperors, refused, on this very ground, to permit the formation of a body of 150 firemen in Nicomedia, or the institution of a common meal for the poor at common expense.¹ However much such a policy may be open to criticism upon the ground of its prejudicial effect upon the capacities of the people, it is at anyrate intelligible and coherent. Granted this jealous administration, this morbid horror of divided allegiance, the persecution of the Christians is seen to be inevitable. For they, of all private associations, laid themselves most open to the accusation of being revolutionaries. They were in most respects loyal citizens, but they never

¹ *Ep.* x. 34, 35, 101, 102.

took pains to conceal that they owed allegiance to One other than Cæsar, and that in case of conflict of opposing claims they would obey God rather than man. 3. This divided allegiance seemed to be proved conclusively to be dangerous by their refusal to sacrifice to the Genius of the Emperor, though in reality it was the outcome of their differentiation between the "things that be Cæsar's" and the "things that be God's" (Matt. 22²¹). To the patriotic, orthodox Roman, the Emperor was the embodiment of Providence upon the earth, and thus a refusal to burn incense before his image was viewed as an act of impiety as well as of disloyalty. This consideration affords a clue to the otherwise perplexing phenomenon of cruel persecutions under the rule of humane and enlightened emperors, for it was just these who formed the loftiest ideals, and therefore most jealously watched against any influence which seemed likely to impair them.

(c) 1. Turning from the Government to the "man in the street," we again find new grounds for hostility. "I do not think," says Paley, "that the teachers of Christianity would find protection in the general disbelief of theology, which is supposed to have prevailed amongst the intelligent part of the heathen public. It is by no means true that unbelievers are usually tolerant.

They are not disposed to endanger the present state of things by suffering a religion of which they believe nothing, to be disturbed by another of which they believe as little. They are ready themselves to conform to anything; and are oftentimes amongst the foremost to procure conformity from others, by any method which they think likely to be efficacious.”¹ A man who was inclined towards contempt for the whole body of religions domiciled in Rome would feel the most contempt for that which put forward the greatest claims to allegiance. To the addition of one more deity to the Roman pantheon no objection would have been made, but when the new religion in question claimed exclusive sway over men’s lives and deliberately set itself to overthrow all other cults, then even unbelief came to the aid of the existing *régime*. This explains the evil reputation which the Christians acquired for unsociability and churlishness. When to their attacks upon pagan rites they added mysterious words concerning a last day and a great conflagration in which “the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat, and the earth and the works that are therein shall be burned up” (2 Pet. 3 10), even those not naturally disposed to be hostile became

¹ *Evidences of Christianity*, pt. i. ch. 1.

prejudiced, and hence arose the preposterously unjust allegations of the historians against them, no charge being too wild for credence. 2. And, lastly, there were vested interests at stake. Demetrius and the injured silversmiths of Ephesus were only types of what was to be found every day. Not only did the demand for images and victims fall off where Christian teaching obtained a hold upon the popular mind, but the decline touched other industries less directly associated with religion, for Pliny, in the most celebrated of his letters to Trajan, naïvely admits that it was the shrinkage in the hay trade which first seriously directed his attention to the Christians.

II. The Book of Acts and its Hero.

i. Concerning the Book of Acts and its claim to be regarded as an integral portion of authoritative Scripture, there is no lack of testimony in the writings of the early Fathers. Both in the MSS. and in the literature of the period there is a varied assortment of titles, ranging from the plain "Acts" to the fuller "Acts of the Holy Apostles," "Acts of all the Apostles," "The Acts of the Apostles," the longer titles probably owing their existence to the need of differentiating the book from

the various apocryphal narratives concerning individual apostles, such as the "Acts of Peter," "Acts of Paul and Thecla." But however various may be the titles under which it is referred to, there can be no doubt concerning the position which the book occupied in the early Church. Although not directly quoted by the Fathers prior to about A.D. 170—in which respect it stands with the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and the Second to the Corinthians—their writings are full of palpable reminiscences of the book, so many in number as to preclude the possibility of their being mere coincidences, one noteworthy instance being where Clement of Rome—writing about A.D. 95—quotes Psalm 89, not as it appears in the original, but as quoted by Paul at Antioch (ch. 13 22). Of writers belonging to the second half of the second century, Bishop Lightfoot has constructed a chain of authorities representing not one church or one district, but the Church throughout all the world, from Ephesus to Gaul, and from Rome to Alexandria, all alike containing palpable quotations, most of them mentioning the book by name, some mentioning its reputed author.

ii. Long tradition has assigned this book to the writer of the Third Gospel, and as that

Gospel has from the earliest times borne the name of Luke, the Acts has been accepted as his also. Although Renan asserts that no one has ever seriously combated the opinion that these two works are from the same hand, yet the reasons for the belief in Luke's authorship of the Acts may with advantage be stated here, since every point which supports the authenticity of the one book thereby strengthens the position of the other. Concerning tradition and the testimony of the early Fathers nothing need be added to what has been said above, beyond pointing out that Origen evidently considered the matter to be too generally accepted to need any argument, for, in speaking of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says: "Some say that Clement, who was Bishop of Rome, wrote the Epistle; others that it was Luke, the same who wrote the Gospel and the Acts." Eusebius, likewise, writing in the early years of the fourth century, speaks of the opinion as though it were one which never had been challenged, and never could be. (a) The testimony which is afforded by the references of early writers is, moreover, powerfully reinforced by the comparison of the introductions to the two books. Both books are dedicated to Theophilus, who may be regarded either as an individual or as denoting

the typical godly reader, and the introduction to the Acts refers to a "former treatise" which the author had written for Theophilus, dealing with the early stages of the Christian mission up to the time when Jesus was received up to glory, which exactly coincides with the scope of the Gospel. (b) And further, there is the evidence afforded by the use of the first person "we" in certain portions of the narrative of Paul's travels, indicating that the author, at anyrate of these sections, was present at the scenes which he describes. The passages in question are chs. 16¹⁰⁻¹⁷, 20⁵⁻³⁸, 21⁷⁻¹⁸, 27, and 28, dealing with Paul's first visit to Philippi; his journey from Philippi to Jerusalem six years later, and his journey to Rome. In the matter of the two former occasions we have no independent evidence as to whether Luke was with Paul or not, but we know from Col. 4¹⁴ that they were together in Rome during Paul's first imprisonment; and Luke seems to have remained in attendance upon him, for his presence is again referred to in 2 Tim. 4¹¹ written during the second imprisonment. Attempts have been made to fix the authorship upon all the other companions of Paul mentioned in the Acts, and even upon Paul himself, but without any conspicuous success. No one meets

the requirements of the case so well as Luke, no one else has any weight of tradition to back his claim, and there was no one who was in so good a position to learn all the facts as Luke, "the beloved physician." Of course this does not by itself preclude the possibility of these personal narratives having been incorporated in his work by a later editor, but it is almost incredible that a writer so conspicuously accurate should have been guilty of such carelessness as is involved in the supposition that the "we" of the travel records was left untouched in the finished work.

iii. The exact date of the book is a matter of dispute, even among those who frankly accept the above view concerning its authorship. Professor Ramsay is disposed to place its composition between the years 80 and 90 A.D. He infers from Luke 3 1.2 that the Gospel was written during the reign of an emperor who, like Tiberius, had commenced his reign in association with another; he assumes that the Acts immediately followed; and he holds that the atmosphere of the book is most nearly akin to that of the period immediately preceding the reign of Domitian.¹ If this be the correct view, then the writer broke off his narrative where he did because

¹ *St. Paul as a Traveller and Roman Citizen*, p. 387.

he had completed the task he had set himself, having brought the narrative up to the point when Christ was preached in Rome itself,—an epoch-making event in the religious history of the world. It may be doubted, however, whether his fundamental inference will bear the weight which Professor Ramsay places upon it; and if the decision rests upon inferences, a very good opposing case can be made out from the absence of references to the destruction of Jerusalem, as an accomplished fact, in either book. According to the more generally accepted views, the writer is held to have ceased writing because there was nothing further to relate; in other words, that he had finished his work before Paul was liberated at the end of his two years' imprisonment, and that this is the reason why we have no reference to the apostle's second imprisonment, his martyrdom, and the approaching dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth. In this case the composition of the book would belong to the years A.D. 62–64, and it is easy to believe that under the comparatively lenient conditions of this first period of detention Luke would enjoy exceptional facilities for his work.

iv. It is necessary now to turn to the attacks which have been made upon the Acts, not merely as the work of Luke, but even as a

trustworthy representation of early Christian history and teaching. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this manual, to deal with only one class of attack, namely, that which is associated with the name of Tübingen, since it has acquired the greatest influence and manifested the greatest power of propagation. The Tübingen school, led by F. C. Baur in his book *The Apostle Paul* and various other writings, differs from the majority of destructive critics in that aversion to the supernatural is not the *main* ground for their attack, however strong that aversion is seen to be. In its simplest form their criticism consists of an allegation that the Christian books were written with a "tendency," a "motive," to support a theory and to induce a belief in what never happened. In the case of the Acts, their whole contention is based upon the assumption of an implacable hatred existing between the Pauline and Petrine sections of the Church. Because in the Clementine literature—dating from the early years of the third century—there is evinced a strong antipathy towards the Pauline conception of Christianity, the Tübingen school assumes that that antipathy had always existed; the Acts, therefore, which relates the official acceptance of a sane and natural com-

promise, is unworthy of credence, and must have been compiled many years after the apostolic age to induce a belief in a *rapprochement* which in fact never took place. For the support of his theory, Baur and his disciples are compelled to make a clean sweep of almost the whole of the New Testament, only acknowledging as genuine products of the age of the apostles five books, namely, the Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans, and the Apocalypse, and even these they can only accept by cutting off the last two chapters of the Romans, and by applying to the rest what Dr. Schaff describes as a "truly monstrous exegesis." The remaining books, the bulk of our New Testament Scriptures, are "tendency" writings, forged in a later age to serve some end, and belonging to the same category as the Forged Decretals, which were manufactured in the ninth or tenth century to give early Papal sanction to later claims and pretensions. Thus the Acts is represented as the product of a series of recensions, undertaken alternately by Pauline and anti-Pauline editors, each manipulating the original story in accordance with his own views, the last editor being Pauline, and either so negligent as to overlook the "we" in one of the incorporated documents,

or so dishonest as to insert the first personal pronoun to give an air of credibility to his compilation—the latter being the view of some German contemporaries of Baur. This is not the place in which to discuss these theories. It is enough to point out that they discredit the whole body of testimony upon which the belief of the Church has always rested, and render impossible even the most meagre theory of inspiration. Beyond that, they create problems more difficult than those which they pretend to solve, for they presuppose a colossal and incredible literary fraud of which all the early Fathers were either the accomplices or the victims.

v. The purpose of the writer of the Acts is plain and coherent enough when sought for without regard to preconceived theories. It is true he distributes his attention unevenly at times, but that is the outcome not of a deficient sense of proportion, but of his adherence to the purpose he had formed. He sets himself to write what might in modern times be styled an "Introduction to Ecclesiastical History," to satisfy the inquirer of a later age who would be at a loss to know how the Christian religion—a settled and flourishing institution in his own day—ever survived the perils of its early years, both from within and

without. Such an inquirer would not so much desire to know the details of the career of any one apostle as the critical questions which presented themselves, the manner of their solution, and the means by which the Christian teaching worked its way over the whole Empire. It is that he may give future generations a clue to what would otherwise be a mystery that he writes his book.

The last words of Jesus had commissioned the disciples to be his "witnesses in Jerusalem, in Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth" (18). Jerusalem was the natural starting-place for their work, and the concourse at the Feast of Pentecost gave them the opportunity of preaching under circumstances where every convert was a possible missionary to a foreign land. Besides tracing the outline of the aggressive work of the early Church, several points are noted concerning its life and discipline; amongst these is the administrative difficulty, which led to the appointment of the deacons, one of whom, at least, exercised so powerful an influence outside the sphere of his official duties that he brought martyrdom upon himself and renewed persecution upon the Church. But this persecution only had the effect of facilitating the spread of the gospel,

and in the midst of the persecution the most aggressive and able of the persecutors embraced the faith which he had hitherto persecuted, and it was mainly owing to his ceaseless activity that the gospel was preached to the Gentiles far and wide. Thus was raised the difficult question as to the relation of these Gentile converts to the Jewish law: were they to be forced to conform to the Jewish ceremonial law before obtaining recognition as members of the Christian Church? The question was a vital one, for if it was laid down that the Christian Church could only be "entered through the door of the Jewish synagogue," the progress of the gospel among the Gentiles would be hopelessly retarded. The decision of the Fathers of the Church was liberal in its character, but limited in its influence, for we find that the Judaizing section of the Church continued to harass Paul throughout his ministry. His first missionary tour was chiefly among the cities of Lycaonia, and the second opened in the same district, but, as a result of divine intimations, he crossed to Europe, and brought the gospel to the centre of the learning of the ancient world. His third tour is described in much less detail, Ephesus being the one centre of activity to which any lengthy attention is given, and it was

on his return from this tour that his Jewish enemies raised against him the riot which resulted in his arrest, trial, and ultimate appeal to Rome. With the brief account of his sojourn in Rome the narrative ceases.

vi. (a) It will be convenient to gather together here the various fragments of information which we possess concerning the personality of Luke's great hero. I say "fragments," because it is extraordinary how little we are told concerning the man himself, beyond the mere narrative of his labours. Luke obtrudes his own views and opinions singularly little, scarcely ever turning aside from his story to give his own ideas concerning an event or a person, and thus we are almost entirely thrown upon what Paul says about himself in Acts 22 and 26, and in his Epistles. He comes before us as a many-sided man. Whereas the other apostles were for the most part countryside Jews, with all the peculiarities attaching to those whose lives have been unaffected by the stimulus of the town and the larger world, this latest convert touched the outside world at many points. He was a citizen of "no mean city," Tarsus in Cilicia, which occupied an important place both in the commercial and educational life of the Eastern Mediterranean. So distinguished was

it as an educational centre under the early Empire that Strabo, comparing it with Athens and Alexandria, as regarding the general desire for knowledge on the part of its inhabitants, gives it the preference. In commercial affairs it owed its importance in no small degree to the fact of its being situated near the head of the "Cilician gates," one of the great passes by which the commerce of the Mediterranean crossed the range of the Taurus into the central provinces of Asia Minor. In the redistribution of empire which followed upon the death of Alexander, Tarsus normally belonged to the Seleucid kingdom,—though at times claimed by the Ptolemies,—and seems even to have been known by the name of *Antiocheia*, as were so many of the foundations and re-foundations of the Seleucid kings. Although Augustus made Tarsus a "free city," this fact does not help us to understand how it was that Paul was in possession of the Roman *civitas* or citizenship, nor is it possible to speak with any certainty as to what the claim amounted to. Putting together the statement of Josephus to the effect that the Jews had rendered conspicuous services to Julius Cæsar during his Egyptian wars, and the statements of Cæsar himself and of Dion Cassius to the effect that he visited Tarsus

during the civil wars, and changed its name to Juliopolis, we may infer that one of Paul's ancestors was rewarded for his services with the gift of Roman citizenship, a distinction which would, of course, descend from father to son. It was, moreover, still a coveted honour, for the time had not yet come when it was prostituted to political—or worse—ends by a depraved Government. The *civitas*, as enjoyed by Paul, undoubtedly did not embrace the wide circle of rights which the word would suggest to a native Roman of the Republic, but it carried with it protection against high-handed injustice, and Paul more than once found it of value.

But the fact of his being "a Roman" did not in any way diminish Paul's pride in his Jewish ancestry, for he tells us himself that he was "of the tribe of Benjamin," and "a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews" (Phil. 3^b), and trained in the strictest sect of the Jewish religion, that of the Pharisees. At what age he left Tarsus and came to Jerusalem we do not know for certain, but the words in ch. 22^s indicate that he did not remain in Tarsus after the age when a loyal Jew would be placed under the care of a rabbi to be instructed in the law, while his occupation as a tent-maker renders it improbable that he left Cilicia at a very early age, for

Cilicia was noted for the manufacture of a certain kind of tent-cloth made from goats' hair, and he was therefore more likely to have acquired that art there than at Jerusalem. Nor was such an employment inconsistent with the position which his family occupied in the city, for the Jewish teachers were wont to insist with the greatest vehemence upon the duty of every father to teach his son a trade, since no man could know at what time he might be thrown entirely upon his own resources. That this time did come to the apostle is very evident from his references in his Epistles to manual labour having relieved him of the necessity of receiving help from the churches to which he ministered, and in the nature of the case it is far from improbable that on his conversion he would be disinherited and disowned.

The influence of the surroundings of his early years, and of the years immediately preceding his first missionary tour, is seen in everything he said and did. From the time of his first appearance as a Christian teacher there is a cosmopolitanism about him, which distinctly marks him out from his fellow-apostles. Thrown as he had been among men of all nationalities and creeds at Tarsus, it was impossible for him to view life and the world with the narrowness

of vision which was natural to a Galilean fisherman, and it was a man of that temper who was at that moment pre-eminently needed, if the gospel of the risen Lord was to be preached to the great world outside. And with this magnificent width of vision there was associated a depth of sympathy which enabled him to discern good and possibilities of ultimate friendship where a man of narrower sympathy would discern nothing but the hostility of the Evil One. He is "all things to all men," not in the sense of toning down his message lest it should give offence, but in the sense of approaching men on their most accessible side. To the Jews he lays stress upon his Jewish descent and Pharisaic training; to the Roman officer he emphasises his Roman citizenship, to which even his captor has not so good a claim as himself (22^{ss}); to the Corinthians, accustomed from their earliest years to the great triennial festival of the Isthmian games, he speaks in the language of the games, and we shall see at a later stage that the most intelligible explanation of the substitution of "Paul" for "Saul" is that while working among Jews he used his Hebrew name, but that directly his work took him among Gentiles he employed his Roman name. Being "all things to all men" may be the mark of the weak man

who has not the courage to proclaim what he knows to be the truth in the face of opposition, but it may also be the mark of the strong man, who has such faith in himself and his cause that he is not afraid to meet his foes upon their own ground. And such a man was Paul.

(b) One point more concerning Paul's life must be referred to here, as it will not come under notice in the ordinary course of the narrative, and that is the malady of which he speaks under the figure of a "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12 7). Speculation has always been rife upon this topic, but the question is as obscure as ever, for the reason that there is no evidence upon which a certain case can be built up. The most commonly accepted theory has been that Paul suffered from an aggravated form of ophthalmia, and that this explains his inability to recognise the High-Priest (23 5), his depreciatory tone concerning his own personal appearance (2 Cor. 10 10, Gal. 4 14), and the particular phrase in which he describes the loving devotion of his Galatian converts (Gal. 4 15). On the other hand, it has been contended that a writer so careful as Luke has shown himself to be, and moreover a medical man, would not have been likely to use of a man suffering from aggravated ophthalmia a particular word (chs. 13 9, 14 9,

23¹) which signifies "to gaze intently," and is a word which would not be used under circumstances where one of the ordinary words would serve as well. On the whole, perhaps, some species of malarial fever suits the case best. It would tend to give him a somewhat worn-out aspect, but would not in any way impair that penetrating gaze which seems to have impressed itself upon Luke's mind, and, moreover, it agrees remarkably well with his catalogue of dangers and privations in 2 Cor. 11²⁴⁻²⁷, each one of which would tend to aggravate such a malady.

(c) Concerning Paul's last years we are thrown back upon the traditions of the early Church, since the inspired writings tell us little or nothing. The years of his imprisonment were probably A.D. 62-64, and most, though not all, scholars believe that he was then released, and that his martyrdom took place after a second imprisonment some years later. Early tradition tells of a further missionary tour taking place during the three or four years which are alleged to have intervened between the two periods of confinement, and this is rendered almost necessary by the language of 2 Tim. 4. Clement of Rome speaks of Paul as visiting "the western limit of the world" before his martyrdom, a

phrase which cannot with fitness be applied to any of the districts referred to in the Acts, and which irresistibly suggests Spain—a country which he much desired to visit (Rom. 15 24), and which Chrysostom asserts he *did* visit. Besides this more or less doubtful mission, he seems to have revisited the churches which he founded in Asia Minor, Greece, and Macedonia, and also to have worked in Crete, where he left Titus to complete what he himself had begun (Tit. 1 5). The Second Epistle to Timothy evidently belongs to this second imprisonment, for it breathes a spirit very different from that of the earlier letters from Rome, and the writer felt that the time of his departure was come. Since the close of the first period of imprisonment Afranius Burrus, the kindly prefect of the prætorian guard, had died, and the conflagration at Rome had given Nero the opportunity to inflame the popular mind against the Christians; at the height, therefore, of that historic persecution Paul had little chance of favourable consideration. According to Jerome (A.D. 400 cir.), “in the fourteenth year of Nero,—the same day as Peter,—he was beheaded for the sake of Christ, and was buried on the Ostian road.”

He is gone—and we remain
In this world of sin and pain ;
In the void which He has left
On this earth of Him bereft.
We have still His work to do,
We can still His path pursue,
Seek Him both in friend and foe,
In ourselves His image show.

DEAN STANLEY.

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM

- i. Before Pentecost : A period of re-formation during which the disciples were preparing by prayer and meditation for their lifework. The one event recorded of this period is the election of a twelfth apostle.
 - ii. The Feast of Pentecost.
 - (a) The Feast itself, the second of the three great Feasts of the Jews, falling on the fiftieth day after the Passover.
 - (b) The speaking with tongues : possible explanations :—
 - 1. That the apostles were endowed with a miraculous knowledge of foreign tongues to aid them in their mission. This is unlikely in face of what happened at Lystra (ch. 14 11-14), and there is nothing anywhere to suggest the possession of such a gift.
 - 2. That the miracle was performed upon the hearers, not the speakers : the view of Erasmus.
 - 3. That words for the occasion were miraculously placed on their tongues.
- The third is the most probable.

- (c) Peter's address, mainly concerned with proclaiming the fulfilment of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament in Jesus.
 - (d) Some phases of the life of the early Church—community of goods, baptism, participation in the temple prayers.
- iii. The miracle at the Beautiful Gate of the temple.
 - (a) The hour and place gave it a publicity which it could not otherwise have had.
 - (b) Peter's address follows very much the same lines as that at the Feast, but to a strictly *Jerusalem* audience the change in the man himself was the most powerful argument.
 - (c) Opposition in the Sanhedrin led by the Sadducees, owing to their antagonism to the doctrine of the resurrection. They were in the majority at this time and included most of the great priestly families.
- iv. Ananias and Sapphira—a notable illustration of the candour of the writer. The sin consisted in pretending that they had given all when they had only given part.
- v. Gamaliel. The attention attracted by the Christian miracles forced the Sanhedrin to deal with them again, but severe measures are averted by the action of Gamaliel, who advised them to wait and let the Christian teaching fall to the ground of itself. He was tutor of Paul, and was very highly esteemed. There is no evidence for the theory that he was a secret disciple.

THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM

i. **Before Pentecost** (1 12-26).—The period which intervened between the feasts of Passover and Pentecost, and particularly the ten days which followed the ascension of Jesus, was essentially a period of re-formation. In spite of the explicit utterances of their Master concerning His decease the crucifixion had come upon the disciples with all the awfulness of an unforeseen catastrophe, dashing all their hopes and leaving them in the darkness of despair. They had thought they saw in Him the long-expected Messiah, but that hope was now dead, and their women brought spices to the tomb to embalm the body, no thought of a resurrection ever crossing their minds. The events of the forty days which followed the resurrection served to rekindle their hope and belief, but even their intimate association with their risen Lord during that memorable period did not banish from their minds the old preconceptions concerning His work and mission. They still dwelt fondly upon the idea of the restoration of the "kingdom to Israel," as though Jesus had come from

heaven for nothing better than to assume a sovereignty such as that of Solomon or Alexander, in which kingdom they, as all those who had thrown in their lot with Him in the days of His humiliation, would rule as His lieutenants. His reply to their well-meaning but unintelligent question evades the immediate matter of inquiry, but commands them to stay in Jerusalem until the call to their lifework should be given to them; and the answer, when it did come, was so much grander than their most exalted expectations that the old materialistic ideas of an earthly kingdom faded for ever from their imaginations.

It is this which lends such great importance to these ten days. The disciples assembled together to strengthen, in united meditation and prayer, their halting faith, and to re-establish their former solidarity. When last their Master left their side they all forsook Him and fled; now that He had gone again, would they again lose their confidence, and fall short of the destiny which He had marked out for them? The answer to this question was to be emphatic and final, and that "not many days hence"; but for the present they were to wait. The one incident recorded of this period of preparation is the election of a twelfth apostle to take the place "in this ministry and apostleship,

from which Judas fell away." In this ceremony Peter takes the lead, as he had so often done during the lifetime of Jesus, not from any recognised priority but from that inherent disposition to rush to the front which always characterised him. Indeed there is nothing to suggest that Peter ever enjoyed any official primacy, for the few passages which do throw any light upon the subject — *e.g.*, chs. 15¹⁹, 21¹⁸—point to James as the head of the church in Jerusalem, so far as there was a head. In his address upon this occasion Peter represents the betrayal of Jesus by Judas as the inevitable fulfilment of the prophecies in Psalms 69 and 109, his "it was needful" recalling the "must" which Jesus so often used concerning the fulfilment of prophecy in Himself. It is true that the Psalmist in these passages is speaking concerning his own troubles and sufferings at the hands of false friends, but there, as often, David and his kingdom are taken as a type of the Son of David and His kingdom. The qualification for membership of the apostolic band is defined as habitual daily intercourse with Jesus during His ministry, together with and culminating in the witnessing of His resurrection. The method of election was quite in accordance with Jewish religious

custom, for instead of being regarded, as it is by us, as a deliberate appeal to blind chance, the casting of lots was accompanied by prayer, and was accepted as the most direct appeal to God, who showed His will thereby (cf. Lev. 16 8, Josh. 7 16, Prov. 16 33). Chrysostom notes that after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit the Church is not once recorded to have resorted to the casting of lots. There is no further evidence extant concerning either of the nominees, beyond the usual apocryphal legends which have grown up concerning all the apostles.

ii. (a) **The Feast of Pentecost** (2 1-42) was the second of the three great religious festivals of the Jews. In Exodus it is referred to as "the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours" (Ex. 23 16), but it was also known as the "feast of weeks" (Num. 28 26), owing to the fact of its falling at the expiration of a week of weeks—on the fiftieth day—after the second day of the Passover. It celebrated the conclusion of the grain harvest, which was the first fruits of the harvest as a whole: the conclusion of the national ingathering was celebrated at the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn.

A later Jewish tradition associated the day of Pentecost with the giving of the Law on Sinai, but there is no unequivocal evidence in support

of the coincidence to be found in the Old Testament: Jerome and Augustine, however, treat it as an accepted belief of their time, and not unnaturally link together the two events—the inauguration of the old dispensation by the gift of the Law, and the inauguration of the new by the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The original Mosaic ordinance concerning the attendance of all males at the feasts had tended to lapse through sheer force of circumstances since the Captivity, but nevertheless out of the vast multitude of foreign Jews there would always be a considerable number who would make the journey to Jerusalem at intervals. For the Jews of the "Dispersion," scattered as they were over the then known world, were very far from having renounced their union with the mother-country. The temple-tax continued to be paid; in most cases the Scriptures continued to be read sabbath by sabbath (cf. ch. 15 ²¹), although the adoption of the Greek language as the almost universal medium of intercourse tended to make this less general; and in the *Mishna* there are references to the institution of a system of beacon-fires between Jerusalem and distant countries, by which means the exact time of the new moons was intimated. But at the same time it must be admitted that among

the foreign Jews the strict and literal observance of the Mosaic ritual was steadily declining, and thus the way was prepared for the more spiritual teaching of the Christian dispensation. The districts mentioned in vers. 9 *sqq.* correspond in the main with the four chief divisions of the Dispersion,—Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Roman,—which are also the divisions of Alexander's empire, if Grecian be substituted for Roman; "Cretes and Arabians" fall outside the groups. With reference to the use of the word *Asia* in the Acts, it must be remembered that it always signifies that particular section of Asia Minor known as proconsular Asia, consisting of the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria upon the Ægean seaboard, Ephesus being the capital.

(b) There has always been considerable difference of opinion as to what actually happened upon this memorable occasion. That the truths of the gospel were imparted in a manner which was not in accordance with ordinary experience is admitted by all, except by those who refuse to accept *any* record which seems to be contrary to the ordinary course of natural law. Three theories may be mentioned, all of which are consistent with the acknowledgment of a miracle.

1. That the apostles received a miraculous

knowledge of foreign languages to aid them in their work. Not only is there no evidence of the possession of this knowledge by the apostles, either in the Acts or the Epistles, but the incident at Lystra (ch. 14 11-14) renders such a possession intensely improbable. On that occasion Paul and Barnabas are represented as receiving without protest the *salutations* which the Lycaonians gave to them, but as earnestly repudiating their *acts* of adoration. Such conduct is only explicable on the assumption that the Apostles did not understand what was passing in the minds of the people until, at last, those thoughts began to find expression in action.

2. That the miracle was performed upon the *hearers* and not upon the *speakers*. According to this theory all the speaking was in Aramaic,—the natural speech of Galileans (ver. 7)—and that it was miraculously interpreted to the mind of each hearer, who believed himself to be listening to his own vernacular. This, like the first theory, has the adherence of certain of the early Fathers, and, moreover, was accepted by Erasmus,¹ but it involves an unnatural interpretation of the

¹ "It is more probable that the apostles spoke in their own language, and that by miracle it was brought about that each man understood, exactly as though he were listening to his own language" (Erasmus, *Comm. in loco*).

narrative, and weakens the impressiveness of the miracle by introducing the element of delusion.

3. That words were placed in the mouths of the speakers, who may or may not have understood them, the gift passing away with the immediate occasion for it. This is the most probable of the three explanations, for it is the one which is most in harmony with what we know of the apostolic age. The relation of this incident to the "speaking with tongues" referred to in Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, lies outside the scope of this book, though it may be noted that the Greek words for "speak" are different in the two cases, an ecstatic ascription of praise being what seems to be indicated here.

(c) Among the crowd there were those who jeered, but there were also those who were earnestly desirous of knowing the significance of the phenomenon which they had just witnessed, and were too much in earnest to be deterred by the contemptuous remarks of the rest. This gave Peter his chance, both to defend his companions and to proclaim the Messiahship of Jesus. He commences by gently repudiating the vulgar suggestion of intoxication, pointing out that it was but the third hour of the day—about nine o'clock; this was the first hour of prayer and the time of the morning sacrifice,

before which hour pious Jews abstained from all food. This was nothing less, he asserted, than the fulfilment of the prophecies of Joel concerning the signs and wonders which were to accompany the advent of the Messiah (Joel 2 28-32). He then proceeds to claim that in Jesus, "a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders and signs," all these Old Testament prophecies found their natural fulfilment. By the aid of lawless men—that is to say, the Romans, men outside the Covenant—they had slain the Messiah, but had thereby only prepared the way for the last supreme proof of His divinity, namely, His resurrection from the dead. The effect of Peter's words was seen at once, and the apostle having convinced them of their guilt in the crucifixion of Jesus, hastens to bring to these repentant hearts the message of forgiveness. The result of that first day's mission was the ingathering of three thousand souls.

(d) The record of this remarkable day is followed by some references, quite brief but yet important, to features in the daily life and worship of the early Church. (1) The apostles insisted upon the baptism of converts, in accordance with the command of Jesus (Matt. 28 19). This rite was to occupy in the new dispensation the place occupied by circumcision in

the old. (2) The church in Jerusalem is the only one in connection with which there is specific reference to community of goods, although the practice of common meals was prevalent both in Greek and Roman society in the lower grades. At a later period this practice brought the Christians into conflict with the Roman Government, which chose to regard these gatherings as coming under the head of guilds, and as such repressed them. The wider community of goods (ver. 45; cf. 4 32-5 11) was the outcome of the warm brotherliness that pervaded the Church in the days of its first love,¹ combined with the general belief in the speedy return of Jesus to assume His sovereignty over the earth. (3) The disciples did not at once sever their connection with the national worship, observing duly the stated hours of prayer. This was perfectly natural, for to them Christianity was the cul-

¹ Oh, had I lived in that great day,
 How had its glory new
 Filled earth and heaven, and caught away
 My ravished spirit too!

No thoughts that to the world belong
 Had stood against the wave
 Of love which set so deep and strong
 From Christ's then open grave.

MATTHEW ARNOLD (*op. cit.*).

mination of Judaism; they had yet to learn that the persecution which resulted in the death of their Master was not a sudden and isolated outbreak of fury, but a tragic intimation of the bitter hatred and jealousy with which the old would rage against the new. But this was still in the future; for the present they participated in the worship of the temple so far as the hours of prayer were concerned—the sacrifices no longer having any meaning for them—side by side with the rites and specific teaching of their own community.

iii. **The Miracle at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple** (3 1-26).—(a) It was this participation in the services of the temple which incidentally led to the first recorded act of healing in the apostolic age, with all its important consequences. The Pentecostal miracles had been wrought at the first hour of prayer, this act of healing took place at the last; far greater publicity was thereby obtained than would have been possible at other periods of the day, and the authorities had no choice but to interfere, since the matter was one of public notoriety to which they dared not shut their eyes. We have no indication of the time which elapsed between the two miracles, but from the absence of any reference to hostile action on the part of the Jewish rulers towards

Peter and his associates in consequence of his speech at the feast we may infer that the second miracle took place before the rulers had been able to make up their minds concerning the first.

(b) Peter's second address, a reply to the mute interrogations of an amazed multitude, follows very much the same line as the first, in that it is based upon the works of Jesus as attesting His Messiahship. As he is addressing a strictly *Jerusalem* audience, he dwells more than before upon the guilt of the crucifixion of Jesus, and proportionately expands his exhortation to repentance.

In both of these miracles Peter had been the foremost figure, and it is not too much to say that this very fact was in itself as great a miracle as either of them. On this second occasion he would be addressing many who knew all about him, and how at the critical moment he had proved faithless; and to the earnest open-minded seeker after truth, no argument which Peter could bring forward would carry more weight than that which was afforded by the marvellous change wrought in the speaker himself. And did Peter consciously use concerning the Jews the same word which Jesus used, in an intensified form, concerning him? He, like they, had "denied the holy and righteous One";

it was for them to do as he had done, "to repent and turn again," that their "sins might be blotted out, that so there might come seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord."

(c) During the period covered by the Acts it is the party of the Sadducees that appears to have had the upper hand in the Sanhedrin. And even if they had not been in the ascendant, it would have been natural for them to lead the opposition to a sect whose whole teaching rested upon a belief in the resurrection of their founder. The great dividing line between the Sadducees and the Pharisees is the refusal of the former to accept the authority of the oral traditions to which the latter attached so great importance, asserting that in great measure they had been handed down from the days of Moses himself. As mentioned above, it was the absence in the written law of any teaching concerning the resurrection and a world to come which the Sadducees gave as their ground for refusing to accept these doctrines, though to accept this assertion as a complete and adequate statement of Sadducean religion would be to give them credit for a sincerity to which as a body they are not entitled. This may have been the conscientious belief of the best among them, but so far as the bulk of the party was concerned it was only a

pretext for disbelief in what they were unwilling to believe. During the last century of the Jewish State the Sadducees were a social clique, worldly and materialistic in their ideas, rather than a religious party, and although they embraced, at this time, the majority of the great priestly families, whatever there was of true religion in the nation was to be found among their rivals. In justice to the Sadducees it must be admitted, however, that we only know them through the writings of their enemies, for no Sadducean literature of any kind is extant.

Concerning the constitution of the Sanhedrin, before which court the apostles were brought, Jewish writers are silent. Tradition connects it with the Council of Seventy Elders summoned by Moses (Num. 11¹⁶), but there is no evidence by which the connection can be traced. A "senate of the Jews" is referred to in the Second Book of Maccabees, and in B.C. 47 the Sanhedrin had sufficient weight to be able to summon Herod, the procurator of Galilee, before it on the ground of having usurped its authority. The phrase "chief priests," which is so often used in connection with the Sanhedrin, included the high-priest, those of the reigning high-priest's family who were priests, as well as those who had been high-priests. The Romans

were wont to depose high-priests at will, and at this time there were probably five ex-high-priests alive, but the Jews, rightly regarding the office as one held for life, continued to recognise the authority of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. The elders and scribes who are mentioned as belonging to the Council were probably those who constituted the Pharisaic opposition to the priestly Sadducees (236), and would be men of recognised influence and learning. The "captain of the temple" (41) was a Levitical, not a military, official.

As might be expected, the men who had undergone such a transformation, and under its influence had faced fearlessly the Jewish mob, were not to be deterred from their work by threats. They boldly refused to be silent, and returned to their company with triumphant thanksgiving.

iv. **Ananias and Sapphira** (5 1-11).—It is characteristic of the candour with which the Christian books are written that incidents like this should find a place in them. Immediately following the records of unflinching courage and unselfish devotion there comes this story of meanness and deception, which would have been bad enough at any time, but which was pre-eminently so at such a season as this. The practice of

holding property in common has already been referred to, and what was said above need not be re-stated, beyond insistence upon the purely voluntary character of the transaction. That being so, Ananias and Sapphira were perfectly within their rights in keeping part of their property and handing over part to the apostles, had they not claimed for themselves the credit for having given all. This act of deception was a denial, in action, of the Holy Spirit's oversight of the Church, and for this reason was a lie "not unto men but unto God."

v. **Gamaliel.**—This, and the miracles which followed, again roused the hostility of the authorities, who threw the apostles into prison, but to no purpose, for they were miraculously delivered, and proclaimed their message with the same freedom of speech as before. It was in the deliberations which followed this last act of defiance that Gamaliel is first mentioned (5³³⁻⁴²). He was the grandson of the famous Rabbi Hillel, and led the more liberal party among the Pharisees, but his is one of those names around which such a cluster of legends has collected that it is not easy to arrive at any certainty concerning it. His action on this occasion has often been construed into an indication that he was at heart a Christian, but this interpretation is not

rendered necessary by the facts, and, moreover, would so tell against the personal character of the man as to make almost unintelligible his great authority. It is easier to believe that, being a man of moderate views, he was able to see in Christianity elements of good which would be undiscernible by his more prejudiced colleagues, and he was in favour of allowing time and experience to differentiate between the true and the false. He would certainly be the less disposed to favour extreme measures in the case of men who, whatever their errors might be, were indicted on the ground of preaching the doctrine of the resurrection and the future life, in opposition to the materialism of the Sadducees. His influence upon the Council on this occasion is illustrated by the tradition to the effect that, on another occasion, when the Sanhedrin had come to a decision in his absence, a stipulation was laid down that the decision should only be put into force if he gave his approval. To us his chief claim to remembrance is his having been the instructor of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Saints, did I say? With your remembered faces,
Dear men and women, whom I sought and slew!
Ah! when we mingle in the heavenly places,
How will I weep to Stephen and to you!

Oh for the strain that rang to our reviling
Still, when the bruised limbs sank upon the sod!
Oh for the eyes that looked their last in smiling,
Last on this world here, but their first on God!

F. W. H. MYERS, *St. Paul.*

CHAPTER II

THE MINISTRY OF STEPHEN AND PHILIP

- i. Hellenist and Hebraist.—The Hellenists were Greek-speaking Jews who, from long residence abroad, had lost much of the exclusiveness of the native Jew, and also adhered less closely to the Mosaic ritual.
- ii. The "Deacons": two questions arise—
 - (a) Was the office a new one or an extension of an old?
 - (b) Is it the same as that which is referred to in Phil. 11, 1 Tim. 312?

The word "Deacon" does not occur in the text of Acts 6.
- iii. Stephen.
 - (a) Sphere of his labours obscure, as the phrase in ch. 69 may denote one synagogue or five. Paul probably listened to him there.
 - (b) The indictment was that he had spoken words against Moses and the temple: his defence was a plea for a spiritualisation of worship, and a comparison between the rejection of Moses by ancient Israel, and of Jesus by a later generation.
- iv. The Gospel in Samaria.
 - (a) Origin of the Samaritan people partly accounts for hostility between them and the Jews.

- (b) Simon Magus, the centre of a mass of late legends, including those in which his name is used as a disguise for Paul.
- v. Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch.—This man was an officer of the queen whose seat of government was Meroë: probably a proselyte.

THE MINISTRY OF STEPHEN AND PHILIP

i. **Hellenist and Hebraist** (61-6).—It is again characteristic of the candid writer of the Acts that, having duly chronicled the hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira, he should go on to record the appearance, at this early date, of a spirit of disunion in the Church. The Grecians, or Hellenists, who appear for the first time in the sixth chapter of Acts, must not be confused with the Greeks. The latter word is used in its ordinary sense wherever it occurs in the New Testament; Grecian, on the other hand, denotes, not Gentiles as distinguished from Jews, but Greek-speaking Jews as distinguished from the Jews of Palestine. Between these two sections of the nation feeling was habitually unfriendly, if not actually hostile, and mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the pious Jew of Palestine was inclined to regard the Hellenistic Jews as renegades from the religion of their fathers, since among them the Mosaic ritual was so imperfectly followed. The Hellen-

ists, on the other hand, might well retort that the law which they followed was at anyrate Mosaic and not a parasitic growth of a later age. And, in the second place, there was the intense hatred with which the Jews of Palestine regarded everything Greek. This is not to be wondered at when we remember what the Jews had suffered at the hands of the Greek kings of the Seleucid dynasty. Not only were their public and private liberties ruthlessly invaded, but they saw Greek manners and customs supplanting the simpler and more robust habits of their fathers, and thus "Cursed be he that teacheth his son the learning of the Greeks" became a watchword of Jewish patriotism. Of these Hellenists, some would be Jews who belonged by birth to countries where Greek was the common tongue, but who were at this time domiciled in Jerusalem; others would be proselytes—a word which is used of converts from heathenism to Judaism, though different degrees of adherence to Mosaic ritual are denoted; a "proselyte of righteousness" was one who accepted the rite of circumcision and the whole ceremonial law, whereas the "proselyte of the gate" accepted neither, but observed what was known as the seven Noachic commandments, namely, abstinence from gross crimes, blasphemy,

murder, incest, theft, worship of heavenly bodies, etc.¹ It was among the latter that the Christian teachers made most progress, for their minds were less in bondage to the ideas of the past, while the better men amongst them had that predisposition towards righteousness which was needful before all things.

ii. **The "Deacons."**—In the Christian Church this discord between Hellenist and Hebraist arose upon a question of ordinary administration. The Hellenists domiciled in Jerusalem complained that, in the giving of relief to the needy, their widows were neglected, and this complaint led to the appointment of officers to deal with the difficulty. Two important questions, at least, are raised by the narrative in ch. 6.

(a) Was the office a new one, rendered necessary by the expansion of the Church, or was it merely a development of an existing organisation by the addition of Hellenist officers to guard Hellenist interests? The latter is the more likely interpretation, for there had evidently been officers charged with this duty of administering relief, unless we believe that the apostles themselves had performed the duty, which is rendered unlikely by the fact that the apostles,

¹ It is doubtful whether at this period this distinction was clearly established.

in making this arrangement, virtually admitted the justice of the complaint. This view is also rendered probable by the fact that all the seven have Greek names.

(b) Was the office to which these men were appointed the same as that which is referred to in Phil. 1 1, 1 Tim. 3 12? Concerning this there is also a diversity of opinion; but it must be noted that although these seven have always been popularly referred to as the "deacons," they are not so designated in the text, and the word from which that title is derived is used in vers. 2 and 3, both of temporal and spiritual ministrations, according to the word used in conjunction with it. This is one among many instances of the extremely slender evidence concerning the "constitutional law" of the Church—an omission, on the part of the apostles, which is in the highest degree reprehensible if erroneous opinions on the subject are as perilous to salvation as Anglo-Catholics would have us to believe.

Concerning some of the men who filled this office we have no evidence whatever. Stephen and Philip will call for detailed reference shortly, and of the rest Nicolas is the only one of whom we have even any traditions, those being more or less doubtful in their credibility. Irenæus, Cle-

ment of Alexandria, and Hippolytus designate him as the founder of the sect of the Nicolaitans (Rev. 2 6, 15), but their testimony is very doubtful.

iii. Stephen (6 8—7 60).—The specific duties for which the seven were chosen did not preclude their taking part in evangelistic work, as is shown by the labours of Stephen and Philip, the latter of whom is probably referred to as Philip “the evangelist” in 21 8. The sphere of Stephen’s labours is not made very clear by the text of 6 9, which, as Dr. Hort says, “is not smooth and correct, on any interpretation,” and has been explained as denoting one synagogue, and five synagogues, and every number between. Dr. Hort’s view is that only one synagogue, that of the Libertini, is denoted, the names which follow simply specifying the origin of the various adherents;¹ but this is not the place to discuss a vexed question of interpretation, which does not substantially affect the historical narrative. What is profoundly significant is that, together with these Roman freedmen, there assembled the men of Cilicia, Saul of Tarsus probably among them. This, when taken with the clear indication supplied by 26 14, that Paul had had his qualms of conscience in the matter of persecuting the Christians, affords fair justification for

¹ *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 50.

Augustine's celebrated saying: "*Si Stephanus non orasset Ecclesia Paulum non haberet*," and supplies an explicit reason why Saul was so much to the front at Stephen's martyrdom.

The indictment against Stephen was based upon a distortion of his actual words, but at the same time bore sufficient resemblance to them to serve the purpose of his enemies. The accusation was that he had used words which were blasphemous against the temple and against the law of Moses, and, for that reason, against God Himself. How much and how little truth there lay in this accusation is shown by Stephen's defence. We can well believe that the teaching which was complained of was only an echo of the teaching of Jesus in John 4, "an assertion of a higher authority than that of the law, and a truer sanctity than that of the temple."¹ Stephen's defence before the Sanhedrin has been accused of being far-fetched, and affording only a very indirect reply to the accusations brought against him, but its meaning would be clear enough to those at whom it was aimed. Two main ideas run through the whole speech. In the first place, it is a plea for the spiritualisation of worship, as opposed to blind and unsympathetic adherence to ceremonial observance. God

¹ Dr. Hort,

had dealt with the nation prior to the existence of tabernacle, law, or temple, His grace acting without restriction of place or circumstance, and the temple with its ordinances was only "one mutable phase in the manifestation of God's dwelling among men." In this sense, and in this only, could Stephen be said to have spoken against the temple and against the law. In the second place, we have a somewhat full summary of the career of Moses, introduced evidently for the purpose of suggesting the parallel between the reception of Moses by ancient Israel and that of Jesus by a later generation. Moses had come as a messenger from God to save His people, but was rejected by them as an intruder: Jesus "came to His own world" with a message of salvation, and "they that were His own received Him not." In both ages the "living oracles" of God were rejected by the people in favour of their own idols, whether of wood and stone or of the nature of human traditions. It would seem as though the contemptuous stolidity with which his defence was received evoked from Stephen the words of fierce denunciation contained in ver. 51 *sqq.*, which immediately resulted in his martyrdom. The illegality of the proceeding is beyond dispute, for, on the admission of the chief priests themselves, the Sanhedrin had no

power to put to death (John 18 31); but it is not necessary to view it at all in the light of a judicial action. It was an outbreak of mob violence on the part of the leaders of the nation which could easily be disavowed, if necessary, by the Council. But they probably felt assured of their safety, for there is every reason to believe that this took place during the interregnum which ensued on the recall of Pilate.

iv. **The Gospel in Samaria** (8 1-25).—Persecution seldom succeeds in achieving its ends, and here the only outcome of the attack upon the church in Jerusalem was the diffusion of the gospel, not only near at hand among the Samaritans, but as far as Phœnicia and Cyprus (11 19). The evangelisation of the Samaritans was an important step towards the evangelisation of the world, for it implied no small sacrifice of historic prejudice.¹ The population of Samaria was

¹ "What did Ezra and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and Jehoshua the son of Jehozadak? They gathered together all the congregation into the temple of the Lord, and they brought 300 priests and 300 children and 300 trumpets and 300 scrolls of the law in their hands and they blew, and the Levites sang and played, and they banned the Cuthæans (Samaritans) by the mystery of the ineffable name, and by the writing which is written on the tables, and by the anathema of the upper (heavenly) court of justice, and by the anathema of the nether (earthly) court of justice, that no one of Israel should eat the bread of a Cuthæan for ever. Hence the elders said: Whoso-

originally composed of the remnants of the ten tribes, together with "men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim" (2 Kings 17²⁴), and the effects of this composite origin remained to the last. According to Josephus, "the Samaritans deny their Hebrew origin when the Jews are in distress, but as soon as any prosperity comes to them they are eager to appeal to their common ancestry in Joseph and Manasseh;" and the same writer also relates how, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, they had gained his favour by asserting that their temple was dedicated to Grecian deities, and that they themselves observed Grecian rites.¹ While, however, they had been wont to manifest the utmost hostility towards their Jewish neighbours, notably during the administration of Ezra and Nehemiah, they still were monotheistic, and had their own Messianic expectations.

Much of the interest of this mission to Samaria centres in Simon Magus, a person concerning whom there has grown up a whole

ever eats the bread of a Cuthæan is as if he ate swine's flesh; and no Cuthæan shall ever be made a proselyte: and they have no share in the resurrection of the dead."—Pirke Rabbi Elieser, quoted by Lightfoot in *Galatians*, p. 299.

¹ *Ant.* xi. 6; xii. 5.

literature of legends. The narrative of the Acts says nothing more than that he was a magician whose jugglery, together with his pretentious claims to divinity had won for him a position of very great influence in Samaria until the coming of Philip, whose teaching and wonder-working left him without adherents, so that at last he himself was constrained to attach himself to the new teacher, as to one who possessed a more powerful spell than his own. That his adherence to Philip implied no real change of heart is made clear by what followed. The church at Jerusalem, on hearing of Philip's success, sent down Peter and John to report upon this latest extension of the Christian kingdom, and to confirm the new believers. In passing, it must be noted that the gift of the Holy Ghost, conferred through the apostles, does not bear all the weight which hierarchical disputants put upon it. There is no evidence in the New Testament of the narrow ecclesiastical notions which invaded the Church during the second and following centuries. If on this occasion the Holy Ghost was conferred through apostolic hands, it is equally true that to Saul of Tarsus the gift came through the medium of a plain "disciple," without even an apostolic mandate (cf. 9 10-17). "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and the grace of God is not

confined to any official channel. . . . It is surely more honourable to the apostles to suppose the results to have been wrought by the living power of their words, than by any outward and material act—the transmission of some mysterious magnetic fluid from their persons. Such theories are truly derogatory, and lower the apostles to the rank of magicians, whose power they were come to destroy.”¹

When Simon Magus saw that by the laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given—the gift being probably accompanied by outward signs (cf. 10 44 19 6)—he attempted to bargain for that gift for himself, that by the imposition of *his* hands these powers might be conferred. He, like the Jewish exorcists at Ephesus (19 13), knew nothing of the nature of that divine power which lay behind the simple action—the imposition of the hands, or the utterance of a name,—and because he thought to obtain this gift by payment the term “simony” is still used to denote the buying and selling of spiritual gifts.

In view of the mass of legends concerning Simon Magus, very great interest attaches to the marginal reading in the R.V. of ver. 23: “For I see that thou wilt become gall of bitterness and a bond of iniquity.” Concerning the

¹ De Pressensé, *Early Years of Christianity*, i. 72.

facts of his later life, authentic documents tell us nothing, and undoubtedly many of the legends owe their origin to the misunderstanding of an inscription; for Justin Martyr speaks of a statue being erected to Simon on the Tiber between the two bridges, bearing the inscription, *Simoni deo Sancto*, whereas there has been found just on that spot a stone inscribed *Semoni Sanco Fidio Sacrum*, Sancus being the Sabine title of Hercules, and Semo a contraction of semi-homo, a hero. But the wide range of the legends, and the horror entertained of him by the early Church, point to Simon having been a very real centre of heretical teaching, and from the words used of him by Luke he may well have been the foremost of the advocates of the theory of divine emanations, which is the foundation of Gnosticism. But as this is so largely a matter of sheer speculation, lying outside the Acts, we must not linger over the Simonian legends further than to state the use made of them by the disciples of Baur. The fact of the existence of strongly anti-Pauline sentiment in the Clementine *Recognitions*—referred to above—has been developed into the theory that the Simon Magus of those writings is none other than the apostle Paul, and that even the Simon Magus of the Acts was no real person, but only a disguise for Paul. So

characteristic is this of a certain class of modern criticism that it will be worth while to quote Dr. Salmon's summary of the theory. "To begin with the Acts of the Apostles, we are asked to believe that the Simon of whom we read in ch. 8 was no real character, but only a presentation of Paul. Simon claimed to be the 'power of God which is called Great'; but Paul not only calls his gospel the power of God (Rom. 1 16, 1 Cor. 1 18), but claims that the power of Christ rested in himself (2 Cor. 12 9), and that he lived by the power of God (2 Cor. 13 4). In the narrative (Acts 8) the power of bestowing the Holy Ghost, which Philip does not appear to have exercised, is clearly represented as the special prerogative of the apostles. When therefore Simon offered money in order to obtain the power of conferring the Holy Ghost, this was, in other words, to offer money in order to obtain the rank of apostle. We are therefore to detect that we have here a covert account of the refusal of the elder apostles to admit Paul's claim to rank with them, backed though it was with a gift of money for the poor saints in Jerusalem. Peter tells him that he has no part in the lot of apostleship (see Acts 1 17-25), that he is still in the 'gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity'; that is to say, full of bitter hatred

against Peter (Gal. 2 11), and not observant of the Mosaic Law."¹

v. Philip and the Eunuch (8 26-40).—Immediately following the record of Simon Magus, we have just one further reference to the work of Philip. This time he is directed to journey towards the desert, which in itself was probably no small trial to one who was achieving such great success in a populous centre ; but there is no trace of hesitation, "he arose and went," assured that he would find a field for labour even in the desert. And so it was, for on the road he fell in with a chamberlain of the Queen of the Ethiopians, whose centre of government was Meroë on the Upper Nile, Candace being the name of the dynasty. This officer may have been a proselyte, or he may have been a descendant of one of those many Jews who did not avail themselves of the edict of Cyrus, but settled down in various parts of what afterwards became the empire of Alexander the Great, especially in Egypt, and in many cases rose to positions of great influence. But whether proselyte of the gate or Jew, he was a man of devout spirit, as is shown by his lengthy journey to Jerusalem for worship, and when Philip joined him he was

¹ Dr. G. Salmon, article "Simon Magus," *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*

studying Isa. 53, which gave Philip just the opportunity he desired for preaching the Messiahship of Jesus. The quotation is from the Septuagint, and differs widely from the Hebrew, but the general sense of humiliation and outrage undergone by God's envoy is equally clear in each.

Mihi Paulum etiam Genesis olim repromisit.

TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.*

Let no man think that sudden in a minute
All is accomplished and the work is done ;
Though with thine earliest dawn thou shouldst begin it,
Scarce were it ended in thy setting sun.

How have I knelt with arms of my aspiring
Lifted all night in irresponsible air,
Dazed and amazed with overmuch desiring,
Blank with the utter agony of prayer !

F. W. H. MYERS, *St. Paul.*

CHAPTER III

THE MISSION TO THE WORLD

- i. The conversion of Paul, narrated in chs. 9, 22, and 26; also partially in Gal. 1. Three aspects of this event to be noted :—
 - (a) Date and scene of the vision. Date probably 36 or 37 A.D. Damascus, whither Paul was journeying, is one of the oldest cities in the world. At this particular time it was in the hands of Aretas, the prince of the Nabatean Arabs.
 - (b) Differences between the narratives :
 1. Omission—or the reverse—of details.
 2. Various forms of presentation of the divine message, *e.g.* the message, which in ch. 9 comes through Ananias, is given directly from God in ch. 26.
 3. Alleged discrepancies, *e.g.* between chs. 9 7 and 22 9, between ch. 9 20 and Galatians 1 17.
 4. “Kicking against the goads”—a revelation of Paul’s state of mind. Only occurs in ch. 26 rightly.
 - (c) Paul’s own view of his call to the ministry (Gal. 1, 2). Lays great stress upon his independence of all human agency, *e.g.* apostolic ordination.
- ii. Peter and Cornelius : important because it marks the

breakdown of Peter's prejudices on the question of the Gentiles.

- (a) The vision, a parable signifying the removal of the distinction between the chosen people and the nations of the world under the new dispensation.
 - (b) The opposition was temporarily silenced by Peter's narration of the facts; but it was only for a time. The hostility to the wider mission remained vigorous even among those who accepted the Cornelius mission as an exceptional case. From the fact that the work in Antioch (ch. 11 19, etc.) was endorsed by the sending of Barnabas we may infer that the liberal party was the stronger.
- iii. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem probably about A.D. 44 the intervening years since his last visit having been spent at Tarsus, except the year at Antioch.
 - iv. The death of Herod, A.D. 44. Described in full by Josephus.

THE MISSION TO THE WORLD

The extension of the sphere of Christian influence had been very gradual. Beginning at Jerusalem in accordance with their Master's command, the disciples had there been given a unique opportunity of proclaiming their message, not only to Jerusalem, but to the whole Jewish world. Then circumstances, mainly persecution, had led to a mission to Samaria,—a distinct advance,—and now in ch. 9 we have the foundation laid of that world-wide mission which dominates the remainder of Luke's narrative.

i. **The Conversion of Paul** (9 1-30).—Of this epoch - making event we have three accounts; two of them are contained in addresses by Paul himself, one is given by Luke in the course of his narrative, and, in addition, we have a partial account in the Epistle to the Galatians, which deals more especially with the events subsequent to the vision. Although each narrative has its own characteristics they all agree in the fundamental element, a vision of the risen Lord vouchsafed to the future apostle while on a persecuting mission to Damascus. The plain

narrative of what took place on that journey is too familiar to need any repetition, but three aspects of the miracle will demand attention : (a) the date and scene of the vision ; (b) the alleged discrepancies between the narratives ; (c) Paul's own conception of his call to the ministry of the gospel, as suggested by Gal. 1 and 2.

(a) On the matter of the date of Paul's conversion there is no unequivocal evidence, so we are thrown back upon inference. The manner of Stephen's martyrdom suggests a period of anarchy and lawlessness, such as might be supposed to intervene between the departure of Pilate in A.D. 36 and the arrival of his successor. If then Paul's conversion followed almost immediately afterwards, as seems probable, we have a date which agrees perfectly with what is suggested in Gal. 2 1, for, supposing that the fourteen years are reckoned from his conversion to the visit narrated in Acts 15, we reach the year A.D. 51, which is the generally accepted date of the so-called Council of Jerusalem.¹ Damascus, which was to have been the scene of his persecution of the Christian Church, is

¹ Professor Ramsay (p. 62 and elsewhere) criticises those who can perform the "feat of identifying the visit of Gal. 2¹⁰ with that of Acts 15," but he admits that the body of opinion is against him (p. 154).

one of the most remarkable cities in the world, for it has had a continuous history—of no small distinction—for upwards of 3500 years. It was in existence in the time of Abraham, whose steward was Eliezer of Damascus; it played a prominent part throughout the monarchic period of Israelitish history, and it is to-day no village built upon ruins of ancient greatness,—as is so often the case with the sites of famous Oriental cities,—but a flourishing city of 150,000 inhabitants, visited by travellers from all over the world, on account of its wonderfully beautiful situation. Few cities have passed through such vicissitudes: Syrians, Jews, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks have successively been in possession, and it has been said to have entertained every form of government except the representative and every religion except the Christian. At this particular time it was in the hands of Aretas (2 Cor. 11 32), the prince of the Nabatean Arabs, though how he became possessed of it we cannot tell: he was the bitter enemy of Herod Antipas; and possibly the Romans, on the disgrace of Antipas, put his rival in possession of Damascus. It is worthy of notice that although there are extant Damascene coins of the reigns of Tiberius and Nero, there are none of the reigns of Caius and Claudius,—an indirect

suggestion of the intermission of Roman authority.

(b) Coming to the various narratives of Paul's conversion, we note that the differences between them are of three kinds—(1) omission, or the contrary, of particular details, *e.g.* of time and circumstance; (2) various forms of presentation of the divine message; for instance, in ch. 26 the message, which in ch. 9 is given through Ananias, is represented as coming direct from God Himself, Ananias being not even mentioned; (3) alleged discrepancies. Of the first two classes no account need be taken, for they are no indication of unreliability. Two of the alleged discrepancies may be briefly noticed. (*a*) Ch. 9 7, "hearing the voice"; ch. 22 9, "they heard not the voice." The distinction is between the perception of a sound and the appreciation of the words spoken; the same distinction is seen in John 12 28, 29, where words which were clear to Him for whom they were meant, were heard by the crowd only as thunder. (*β*) Ch. 9 20, "Straightway in the synagogues he proclaimed Jesus"; (Gal. 1 17), "I went into Arabia and again I returned into Damascus." Luke does not seem to have known of this visit to Arabia, but there is nothing in his narrative which is inconsistent

with it, for his indications of time in vers. 19, 20, and 23 are extremely vague. To Paul, looking back upon his life, this period of self-examination and spiritual education in retirement would assume an importance which could not be appreciated by his closest friend, even if the fact of the retirement was familiar.

(4) Questions of readings and textual criticism do not naturally fall within the scope of this book, but reference must be made to the well-known words in ch. 26 14, "it is hard for thee to kick against the goads," which, without MSS. authority of any value, find a place also in ch. 9 in the Textus Receptus upon which the A.V. is mainly based. For us the importance of the words lies not in the question as to whether they ought to appear in both narratives or in only one, but in the fact of their appearing at all, for they seem to point to a state of conflict in Paul's own mind before his conversion. The almost irresistible suggestion of these words is that just as an ox, when it kicks against the goad, only increases the pain inflicted, Paul in like manner was kicking against the admonitions of his conscience, regarding those admonitions as sinful doubts. This in no way detracts from either the sincerity or the strength of the man. The fact of Stephen's having preached in the

synagogue frequented by "them of Cilicia" makes it probable that Paul was well acquainted with the main features of Christian preaching before he listened to Stephen's defence before the Sanhedrin, and that preaching may well have caused doubts to arise in his mind concerning his present course of action, which doubts, however, he would strive to stifle by redoubled zeal in persecution,—a line of conduct admirably expressed by the phrase "kicking against the goads."

(c) Before leaving the narratives of Paul's conversion we must not omit to notice the emphasis which Paul lays upon his independence of human agency in the matter of his call to the ministry. He had received his commission to preach direct from heaven without the intervention of ecclesiastical officers, and he therefore remains for all time the prototype of religious pioneers who, hearing the divine call to service, have the faith and courage to work independently of institutions, and unfettered by the ideas of a past age. The attempt to make out that Ananias was a bishop illustrates the absurd lengths to which men will go to obtain support for preconceived theories. If, therefore, the commands and promises of Matt. 28 19, 20 were addressed only to the apostles, to be trans-

mitted by them to their successors, as the Anglo-Catholics teach unequivocally, then Paul, never having received apostolic consecration, lies outside the apostolic succession. And if he lies outside, others may well be willing to lie there too. The further career of Paul will come under consideration at a later stage.

ii. **Peter and Cornelius** (10 1-11 18).—After relating how he that in times past had persecuted now preached the Christian faith, Luke returns to the work of Peter, only referring in the last verses of chs. 11 and 12 to the new convert. The mention of miracles wrought by Peter at Lydda during his sojourn at Joppa leads up to the momentous visit which he made from there to Cornelius the centurion at Cæsarea. Concerning the centurion himself we are told nothing beyond what is conveyed by the word translated “devout,” a word which is used to denote proselytes of the gate; his personal character was such as to win the esteem of those amongst whom he lived, and to mark him out as yet another instance of the favourable mention which the centurions of the New Testament receive (cf. Luke 7 5, 23 47, Acts 27 3). In obedience to a vision Cornelius sent to Joppa for Peter, who was simultaneously being prepared by a vision, the meaning of which he at first failed

to understand, but which became unmistakably clear on the arrival of the messengers of Cornelius. (a) The vision was a parable with far higher import than the mere distinction between animals ceremonially clean and unclean. "The distinction between animals rested on the same principle as the distinction between days, places, and men. Till redemption had been wrought out the original taint infected everything in a world under the curse. It was only by exception that certain men, certain days, certain fruits of the ground, certain animals, were raised in part above the universal defilement. The Jewish people was the only fraction of humanity which was not profane; the distinction between the clean and the unclean animals symbolised, therefore, one far more important, namely, the distinction between men. When Peter says, "I have never eaten anything common or unclean," he speaks as a Jew: he is pointing to the legal distinction between men and things. The reply which he receives shows him the meaning of the new covenant. God, by the blood of redemption, has in truth purified all that was defiled. The distinction between a holy people and an unholy race is done away, like that between animals clean and unclean; and thus Peter may and must go and preach the gospel to Cornelius

the Roman.”¹ That Peter should thus frankly have accepted a doctrine so contrary to his preconceived ideas, and moreover have received it in all its fulness and with all its consequences, is a noble proof of his moral greatness.

(b) It was impossible that this demonstration should pass unchallenged at Jerusalem, and we read in ch. 11 for the first time of that keen division of feeling which continued to mark the church in Jerusalem, and in a lesser degree the Church as a whole, for nearly two centuries. This has already been alluded to² in a general outline of Paul’s career, but we see from this chapter that the question was raised in connection with the ministry of Peter several years before Paul commenced his missionary tours. Peter’s narration of the events of his visit, and particularly the fact of the Holy Spirit’s endorsement of the mission, silenced all objectors for the time being: “*they held their peace,*” dissatisfied, but impotent to resist; the rest of the company “glorified God,”—for this is the interpretation of ver. 18, which is most in keeping with subsequent events.

This was not the only church extension movement that was going on at this time. The same persecution which had sent Philip to Samaria

¹ De Pressensé, p. 80.

² Pp. 25-29.

had sent others to Antioch (11 19-20), where they preached to Jews only, but were followed by men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who "spake to the Greeks also." The readings here are of importance from the point of view of the historic development of the Church. In ver. 20, Westcott and Hort, in accordance with the somewhat stronger MSS. authority, read "Grecian Jews," placing "Greeks" in the margin; but, on the other hand, "Greeks" gives far better sense, for "Jews" includes "Grecian Jews," the antithesis to the latter being "Hebrews." If "Greeks" be read, then this passage relates one of the earliest attempts to reach the outside world.

iii. **Paul at Antioch and Jerusalem** (9 23-30, 11 25-30, 12 25).—Here again the narrative returns to the career of Paul. His ardent advocacy of the Christian faith had brought him into danger in Damascus, but the disciples contrived to get him out of the city by night, and he went to Jerusalem, where Barnabas took him and introduced him to the disciples, silencing their not unnatural doubts by his narration of what had happened on the Damascus road. But here again his zeal brought him into danger, and he was sent out of the country to Tarsus, where he would be safe. Assuming A.D. 36 to be the year of his conversion, it seems likely that the years

39-43 A.D. he spent in retirement in his own country, engaged, most probably, in a constant conflict with his Pharisaic family, a contest which could only end in either their conversion or his being disinherited, the facts of Paul's life pointing to the latter. When Barnabas went to Antioch to view this new work among the Gentiles, he at once saw there a fit field of labour for Paul, he fetched him from Tarsus, and for a year they worked there together. It was in this city, and apparently at this time, that the name of "Christians" was first given to the disciples. The name cannot have originated with the Jews, who had far too much reverence for the title to be likely to use it as a nickname for a hated sect; it must have been given by the Gentiles, who noticed the constant references to "Christus," or "Chrestus."

The visit to Jerusalem referred to in the closing section of the chapter raises several important questions, chiefly as to the relation between this narrative and Gal. 1 and 2. Josephus mentions a famine in A.D. 44, but the Roman historians mention a succession of famines during the reign of Claudius, and it is therefore impossible to locate this one exactly. Professor Ramsay identifies the visit of Gal. 2 1-10 and also the vision of Acts 22 17-21 with this visit,

and carefully expands the language of Gal. 2 in accordance with this belief, but the "fourteenth year" (Gal. 2 1) makes this theory difficult to work unless a very early date be taken for Paul's conversion. The whole question will come up again in connection with ch. 15, so it may be left for the present. The "elders" are here mentioned for the first time, but without anything by which their rank and functions can be discovered. They appear again in ch. 14²³ and 15^{2.4.6}, and in Paul's farewell address to the elders of Ephesus they are called "episkopoi." From the fact that the writer says nothing about their functions, we may infer that they were analogous to those of the Jewish elders, and therefore not needing any remark on his part.

iv. **The Death of Herod** (12²⁰⁻²³).—The murder of James and the attempted murder of Peter form a remarkable background to the death of the persecutor, Herod Agrippa I., related in ch. 12. Hitherto the apostles themselves seem to have borne charmed lives, for although they never shrank from their duty they escaped all deadly violence. This was not to last: Herod, having slain one of the foremost of the Twelve, thought he saw in further persecution a means of gaining popularity: his victim, however,

escaped him, and instead he himself was smitten. The account of the incident as given by Josephus is worth being quoted. After mentioning how Herod held a festival at Cæsarea to celebrate the safe return of Claudius from Britain, he goes on to say:—

On the second day of which shows he put on a garment made wholly of silver and of a contexture truly wonderful, and came into the theatre early in the morning; at which time the silver of his garment, being illuminated by the fresh reflection of the sun's rays upon it, shone out after a surprising manner, and was so resplendent as to spread a terror over those that looked intently upon him; and presently his flatterers cried out one from one place and another from another (though not for his good) that he was a god; and they added, "Be thou merciful to us; for though we have hitherto revered thee only as a man, yet shall we henceforth own thee as superior to mortal nature." Upon this the king did neither rebuke them nor reject their impious flattery. But as he presently afterwards looked up, he saw an owl sitting on a certain rope over his head, and immediately understood that this bird was the messenger of evil tidings, as it had been once the messenger of good tidings to him, and fell into the deepest sorrow. A severe pain also arose in his stomach, and began in a most violent manner. He therefore looked upon his friends and said, "I, whom you call a god, am commanded presently to depart this life; while Providence thus reproves the lying words you just now said to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried

away by death. But I am bound to accept of what Providence allots as it pleases God ; for we have by no means lived ill, but in a splendid and happy manner." When he had said this, his pain became violent and he was carried into the palace.

CHAPTER IV

PAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

- i. *Personnelle* and Scope of the Mission.
 - (a) Barnabas, Paul, and Mark : the former retains the precedence so long as they are among Jewish surroundings. Mark leaves them at Perga and returns home.
 - (b) This journey mainly concerned with Cyprus and the towns of South Galatia.
- ii. Paphos.
 - (a) The seat of Roman Government : large Jewish population.
 - (b) The Magi, a class of Persian priests : later, the word came to denote any who dabbled in mysteries.
 - (c) Use of the word "proconsul" an illustration of Luke's accuracy.
 - (d) "Saul" and "Paul" : probably Paul had always had the two names, but had not used the Gentile one when among Jewish surroundings.
- iii. Desertion of Mark : probably owing to lack of physical strength or moral courage.
- iv. Mission in South Galatia.
 - (a) Antioch : the scene of Paul's first reported address.

(b) *Lystra*: in consequence of a miracle of healing they are saluted as gods, but are subsequently stoned. Note

1. Legend of *Philemon* and *Baucis* belonging to this region.
2. Evident ignorance of *Lycaonian* dialect on the part of the apostles.
3. Paul's address based on the testimony of nature to a beneficent Creator.

v. Council of Jerusalem.

(a) Summoned to decide concerning the obligation of Gentile converts to be circumcised.

(b) Decision in favour of freedom: practices interdicted which were likely to cause scandal.

(c) Connection between *Gal. 2* and *Acts 15*.

vi. Quarrel of Paul and Barnabas concerning Mark.

PAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

i. (a) **Personnelle and Scope of the Mission** (13 and 14).—It was from Antioch that the first organised attempt was made to reach the outside world. The mission of Philip and others (chs. 8, 11¹⁹⁻²⁰) had been the result of stress of circumstances, the mission of Peter to Cornelius was the outcome of a vision which removed a difficulty rather than supplied an impulse; it was for the church in Antioch, under divine guidance, to go further and to initiate an organised aggressive mission to the outside world. Of the teachers mentioned as associated with the Church, two only—Barnabas and Paul—call for our attention, but the mention of Lucius “of Cyrene” is significant when taken with chs. 2¹⁰ and 11²⁰: it is a fair assumption that this African branch of the Christian Church, vigorous enough to send out its own missionaries, owed its origin to the wonderful stories of power and grace brought back by those who were present at that great Feast of Pentecost. Of Barnabas we read little, but what we do read marks him out as what might

be described as a "choice" man, a verdict which is not seriously impaired by the narrative of his quarrel with Paul in ch. 15. He is selected for special mention in connection with the spirit of brotherliness which resulted in the "community of goods" (ch. 4 ³⁶-37); it is he who without a trace of suspiciousness in his mind champions the cause of Paul when the rest of the Church was disposed to look askance at him (ch. 9 ²⁷); and, so far from being shocked at the idea of a Gentile mission, he allowed the fact of the benediction of God resting upon the work to settle for ever the question of propriety; "for he was a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith." Of Paul much has been said and will be said, so he need not detain us here, but a word or two must be said concerning the third member of the group, John, "whose surname was Mark," the cousin of Barnabas. From what is said in ch. 12 and in 1 Pet. 5 ¹³, we may infer that there was peculiarly close intercourse between Peter and this family, Mark very probably owing his conversion to the apostle's labours on his behalf. The grounds for his defection (ver. 13), which was afterwards the cause of the rupture between Paul and Barnabas, can only be surmised; but this question will be better dealt with in the course of the narrative.

(b) Each of the missionary journeys of Paul has its own "centre of gravity," so to speak. Just as we instinctively associate Macedonia and Greece with the second journey, and Ephesus with the third, so we associate the cities of Lycaonia with the first. Leaving Seleucia, the port of Antioch, they sailed to Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, which they traversed from east to west; they then sailed N.N.W. to Attalia, the port of Pamphylia, from whence they struck inland, through Perga, and across the mountains of the Taurus range, to Antioch. Then they travelled in a south-easterly direction to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, returning along the same route, with the exception that Cyprus was omitted.

ii. **Paphos** (13 4-12).—(a) Men of Cyprus are not specifically mentioned as having been present at the Feast of Pentecost, but it is not unlikely that what was said above concerning the church in Cyrene was equally true of the church in Cyprus. There were several reasons why the apostles should visit Cyprus. In the first place, one of their number, Barnabas, was a Cypriote. Then, again, it must be remembered that the great numbers of Jewish settlers in the island might be supposed to afford a basis of evangelisation, though, in actual fact, they more often

constituted the main opposing force. And, thirdly, they were only going where they were most needed; for Cyprus in general, and Paphos in particular, was identified with the demoralising worship of Venus.

(b) The resemblance between Paul's encounter with Elymas, and Peter's with Simon Magus, is noticeable, but in no sense justifies the theory that the one narrative is merely an echo of the other, for the practice of magical arts seems to have been so prevalent among the Jews as to have attracted the attention of Greek and Roman authors. The title Magos which is applied to Elymas, as well as to Simon in ch. 8, had originally no evil signification, being used to denote the priests of the Deity among the Persians. From the fact that this priestly class obtained, by long study, a remarkable insight into the operations of nature arose the evil associations of the name, for nothing could afford greater scope than this for deception and fraud, and there is no doubt that the *morale* of the class as a whole steadily deteriorated with the decline of the Persian State.

(c) The interest of this section of Luke's narrative is greatly increased by the evidence it affords of the writer's minute accuracy, in the matter of the title he gives to Sergius Paulus.

In the distribution of provinces after the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, Augustus retained control of those which were only partially conquered, while he handed over those which were settled to the Senate: the latter were governed by proconsuls, but the titles of the Imperial representatives were various. In that distribution Cyprus was retained by the Emperor, on the ground of its being in a chronic state of disquiet, and therefore it would seem as though Luke had erred. Indeed, many of the early commentators devised fanciful explanations of the discrepancy, in ignorance of the fact that in a later passage Dion Cassius mentions that Cyprus was handed over by Augustus to the Senate in B.C. 22, in exchange for Dalmatia. About twenty years ago a Greek inscription was unearthed in Cyprus bearing the name Paulos, followed by the word for consul, the preposition being erased.

(d) The coincidence of the substitution of "Paul" for "Saul" with the conversion of Sergius Paulus led Jerome to suggest that the apostle adopted this name out of compliment to his first distinguished convert. Such a supposition is, however, not only inconsistent with the conspicuous humility of Paul, but is not required by the text, which does not state that a new name was *acquired* but that another name was used. The

New Testament affords numerous examples of Jews who had Greek—or Roman—as well as Jewish names, and this would be especially likely to be the case with one who was a Jew by parentage, but was also possessed of the rights of Roman citizenship. While living among Jews he would be known by his Jewish name, but on going out into the Gentile world he would naturally use his Gentile name. And it is also noticeable that so long as they were working amid Jewish surroundings Barnabas takes the precedence as being the earlier convert, but from this time onwards the order is “Paul and Barnabas,” Paul taking the priority natural to the born leader of men, with the exception of ch. 15, where there is a return to Jewish environment.

iii. **The Desertion of Mark** (13 13).—At Perga their “attendant” left them, a fact which is noted with such brevity as to afford no manner of clue as to the reason for the defection. Professor Ramsay¹ mentions among the “facts which can be gathered from the narrative” that “Paul and his companions came to Perga with the view of evangelising the next country on their route,” that “for some reason the plan was altered, and they passed rapidly over the Pamphylian low-

¹ *St. Paul as a Traveller*, p. 91.

lands and the Pisidian mountain-lands to Antioch," and that "John refused to participate in the changed programme, presumably because he disapproved of it." It is very hard to see in the narrative any indication of a change of plan; and if, as Professor Ramsay supposes, the change was due to Paul's health, which was being affected by the unhealthiness of the Pamphylian plains, it was an act of incredible meanness on Mark's part to leave the work because "the new proposal" involved "carrying their work into a region different in character, and not contemplated by the Church." A man so dominated by ecclesiasticism could never have been "profitable for ministering" to anyone (2 Tim. 4 11), least of all to Paul. The simplest explanation is by far the most rational. Mark's physical strength or moral courage, or both, proved unequal to the arduous task of crossing the Taurus, and he wisely withdrew from a position where he would only be a burden to others. This is quite consistent with his being useful to Paul in other fields of service, but affords a very good reason why he should be unwilling to take him upon another such expedition.

iv. **Mission in South Galatia** (13 14-14 23).—

(a) Antioch in Pisidia was one of the many cities founded by Seleucus Nicator, and named

Antiocheia, Seleucia, and Laodicea after his father, himself, and his mother. At this particular time Antioch did not lie strictly within the borders of Pisidia, though afterwards the name was used of a much larger area, but the term "Pisidian" was given it to distinguish it from the Antioch on the Mæander, lying about half-way between Ephesus and Colossæ, on the great trade route to the Euphrates. Paul's address in this city is the first of his which we possess; it follows the same line as that of Peter in ch. 3, for he reminds the Jews of God's dealings with their fathers, culminating in the mission of Jesus, whom they had rejected, not knowing the "voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath," but whom God had raised from the dead, that by Him everyone that believed might be justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses. The proclamation of this message on the succeeding sabbath was to a far larger audience, evidently in some more public place, and this aroused the "jealousy" of the Jews, who, whatever they might have thought concerning it when preached to Jews in their own synagogue, resented this extension of God's saving grace to the Gentiles, and preferred being shut out from the kingdom to entering it with the Gentiles. This

led to the emphatic pronouncement on the part of the apostles contained in vers. 46 and 47, which ultimately necessitated their withdrawal to Iconium, not, however, before they had succeeded in influencing the whole "region," a technical term signifying the district of which Antioch was the administrative centre. At Iconium they met with the same opposition, but yet they "tarried a long time," owing probably to the fact that "the multitude of the city was divided" (14 4).

(b) Lystra, whence they fled from Iconium, was one of the few cities in the Lycaonian section of the great Galatian province, and the manner of reception of the apostles there was just what might have been expected from the inhabitants of so remote a corner of the Roman world. A miracle of healing, wrought upon a cripple, rouses such enthusiasm that Paul and Barnabas are saluted as gods; Jews come from Antioch and Iconium, persuade the multitude, and the gods of yesterday are stoned almost to death,—a revulsion of feeling which fully sustains the accusation of fickleness which is brought against the people of Lycaonia by Cicero and other Roman writers. 1. In connection with this incident, account should be taken of the well-known legend of Philemon and Baucis, which

belongs to a neighbouring section—Phrygia—of this same Galatian province. According to this legend, which is related by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, Jupiter and Mercury once visited the district in human form, but were unrecognised save by these humble peasants, whom they rewarded for their piety, and at the same time solemnly warned the populace that such dulness of vision would bring down condign punishment, should they again visit the earth. The early literature of both Greece and Rome is full of this class of legend, and it is far from improbable that the wonders worked by Paul and Barnabas awakened in the minds of these country-folk reminiscences of this traditional warning, and thus led them into acts of homage. 2. That the apostles should not have interfered earlier is not hard to understand.¹ A secluded upland district such as Lycaonia would retain its own vernacular long after it had disappeared in the more important cities upon the great trade routes, and the people, though they would understand Paul when speaking in Greek, would in intercourse with each other use their own native speech. Those who are acquainted with the Highlands of Scotland will find there an admirable parallel. But if their speech was unintelligible to the

¹ See above, p. 47.

apostles their actions could not be misunderstood, and with earnest words, accompanied by the distinctly Jewish practice of rending the clothes, Paul and Barnabas deprecated the proffered honour. 3. The address of Paul on this occasion is a beautiful illustration of his power of making himself "all things to all men." No greater contrast can be imagined than that which exists between his addresses at Antioch and Lystra. In the former case he had an audience in the main Jewish, and he based his case upon the testimony of the prophets; in the latter he has to deal with polytheists or pantheists, and he appeals to nature as witnessing to the "living God," Creator and Ruler of all things. That this was the sum-total of Paul's message to the men of Lystra we cannot believe, but it was the natural foundation upon which to build distinctively Christian teaching, and the address to the Athenians (ch. 17) is of the same type. How far Paul was able to proceed with his evangelisation of the city before he was ousted by the malignity of the Jews we cannot tell, but the very fact of their raising a riot against him seems to suggest that he had already led his listeners through "natural religion" to the saving truths of Christianity. This would point to a stay of two or three weeks, perhaps more, during which

he laboured not without success (ch. 16 1-2). No one can fail to admire the magnificent courage of the man who, after undergoing such trials in these cities, deliberately returns along the same route, at the peril of his life, that he might confirm the souls of the disciples against the "many tribulations" through which alone they might "enter the kingdom of God" (14 22). As to what is implied in the term "elders" (ver. 23) we have no means of judging from the text, and space forbids our entering here into the very obscure question of the organisation of the early Church, concerning which there are as many theories as there are writers; it may just be noted that Luke, who is always very exact about his language, uses concerning the appointment of these officers a word which signifies election in public assembly, literally by show of hands.

v. **The Council at Jerusalem** (15 1-29).—(a) The Judaising party was being driven from one stronghold after another. At first they had claimed the gospel as the inheritance of the Jews alone, and from this they had been forced reluctantly to recede in consequence of the unmistakable revelation to Peter in the matter of Cornelius. They then demanded that all Gentile converts should be subjected to the rite of circumcision, and so become to all intents

and purposes Jews, before being admitted into the Christian Church, and it was their invasion of the church at Syrian Antioch with this teaching which led to the consultation narrated in ch. 15. Paul and Barnabas, fresh from their Gentile triumphs, saw in such teaching a hopeless bar to all such work in the future, and they rightly fought with all their energy on behalf of freedom. For it must be remembered that this was no casual incident in the development of the Christian Church. Resting as they did upon a fundamental misconception of the teaching of Christ, these Judaistic beliefs remained for many years after the apostles and their immediate successors had passed away; it is due to Paul, in the main, that these narrowing ideas were not allowed to dominate the Church at large. To him neither was "circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature" (Gal. 6 15): in the case of those of Jewish parentage he was willing that Jewish usage should be conformed to, though not regarding it as essential; to the Gentiles he preached loyalty to the free "Jerusalem that is above" (Gal. 4 26).

(b) This dissension in the church at Antioch resulted in the sending of a deputation, consisting of Paul, Barnabas, and others, to confer

with the church at Jerusalem. Luke's narrative seems to suggest two deliberations, one between the deputation from Antioch and the leaders of the parent Church, and the other in open session of the Church, an arrangement which not only commends itself from the standpoint of wisdom and prudence, but also serves as a link between Luke's narrative and Paul's words in Gal. 2. The circumstances upon which this Council had to decide were new rather in degree than in kind. Paul's mission to the Gentile world belonged to the same category as Peter's to Cornelius, but the increased proportions of the evil—as the Judaisers considered it—seemed to call for decisive action. With the leaders of the Church—whether at the interview of Gal. 2 2 or at another—Paul succeeded in making good his case. In the open session Peter speaks unequivocally on the side of freedom, and in accordance with his abstract arguments and the fact of the Divine recognition vouchsafed to the labours of Paul and Barnabas the decision is given. James, the brother of the Lord, who presided, was personally inclined towards the Judaistic side in the controversy, but he was unable to resist the testimony given on the other side, and was enough of a statesman to see that conciliation and compromise were

necessary: hence his motion, which was afterwards adopted as the basis of a circular letter to the churches. In that communication nothing is said about circumcision, nor the keeping of Sabbaths and holy seasons, nor the distinction between meats clean and unclean; and the practices interdicted are selected on no distinctively Jewish principle. "Three of the four answer to three great mysteries of human life and experience, and to three corresponding forms of reverence. Two of these are obvious. It is by no fanciful or accidental association that idolatry and uncleanness so often stand together. Apart from the familiar association of impure rites with certain forms of idolatrous worship (a connection on which too much stress ought not, in fairness, to be laid, considering how many forms of idolatry were and are free from that particular stain), both are profanations as well as disloyalties. In all communion with God, in the most intimate form of communion with man, the sense of being on holy ground is the most essential condition; and to lay stress on this at the outset of a Christian profession might naturally be thought a salutary safeguard for new converts. . . . The precept about blood is at first sight more difficult to explain; the explanation lies, I doubt not, in the feeling

of mystery entertained by various peoples of antiquity with respect to blood. Abstinence from blood was in fact an outward expression of reverence for what Gen. 1³⁰ calls 'the living soul' in every animal of the warm-blooded races, a mysterious tabernacling of life in the lower creation, life being that element or phenomenon of the visible world which seemed the most closely akin to the Divine nature, a third mystery below the mysteries of God and of man."¹ The ground of the fourth prohibition is so hard to understand—except as being a phase of the third—that in the "Western" text the words are omitted.

(c) There then presents itself the difficult question as to the relation between Acts 15 and Gal. 2. The generally accepted view is that the two passages deal with the same visit, for no real difficulty is presented by the fact that it is the third visit mentioned in Acts and only the second in Galatians: in the Epistle there was no ground for mentioning the relieving visit of ch. 11. This view has been vigorously assailed by Professor Ramsay, who associates Gal. 2¹⁻¹⁰ with Acts 11³⁰ and 22¹⁷⁻¹⁸, and Gal. 2¹¹⁻¹⁴ with Acts 15. He bases his case upon three main contentions:—

¹ Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 71.

(1) "By revelation" (Gal. 2₁) is not in accord with Acts 15₂. (2) Gal. 2₁₀ exactly suits the conditions under which the visit of Acts 11₃₀ was made. (3) Gal. 2₁₋₁₀ seems to point to a private conference, Acts 15 to a full assembly of the Church. In reply it may be urged that "by revelation" is not inconsistent with delegation by a church; Paul gives the *inward*, Luke the *outward* impulse. Gal. 2₁₀ undoubtedly agrees well with Acts 11₃₀, but by no means exclusively; while Acts 15, so far from precluding a private conference, distinctly suggests that one took place prior to the open session. To these may be added one more point, namely, that if Gal. 2₁ refers to the visit of Acts 11₃₀, Paul's conversion must be placed as far back as 32 or 33 A.D., wherein not many will be found to follow Professor Ramsay.

The scene depicted in Gal. 2₁₁₋₁₄ probably immediately followed the Council, and must be frankly accepted as an act of retrogression on the part of Peter, possibly also of James. It was not until he got face to face with the practical workings of the question that he realised the significance of the decision at the Council, and, encountered by Judaisers from Jerusalem, who may have distorted a com-

mission from James, he drew back from his liberal position. This, though weak, is far less discreditable to Peter than the motives attributed to him by some of the early Fathers, in their desperate determination to prove that there was no disagreement. Both Chrysostom and Jerome regard this as a prearranged performance, the object of which was the justification of Peter in the presence of the Jewish visitors. In the Dark Ages collusive actions often proved valuable in the surmounting of obstacles, but a collusive action—for such this really was, according to these reverend Fathers—under such circumstances and for such a purpose, would so weaken our sense of the honesty of the two apostles as to materially affect our allegiance to their teaching. While honouring the early Fathers for their heroism in action we must beware of over-estimating the value of their writings: in exegesis they are often intensely fanciful, notably in their discernment of allegorical interpretations, and they became the slaves, at a very early date, of narrow hierarchical ideas.

vi. *The Quarrel between Paul and Barnabas* (15³⁶⁻⁴¹).—Here once more we behold the candour of this historian of the early Church, in that he does not shrink from chronicling two

apostolic quarrels in one chapter. There is little doubt that Paul was quite in the right in this matter. Whichever view be taken concerning Mark's withdrawal,¹ it showed his unfitness for this kind of work, and Barnabas therefore was unconsciously placing his kindly feeling towards his relative before the interests of the mission. The bitterness of the quarrel, if there was any, did not last, and Paul's references to Mark in Col. 4 10, 2 Tim. 4 11, and Philem. 24 are quite friendly. The one permanent result of the quarrel was that henceforth there were two missions instead of one. Thus does the "wrath of man" work to the "praise of God."

¹ Above, p. 100.

Let us get up early to the vineyards: let us see whether the vine hath budded and the tender grape appear.—SONG OF SOLOMON, vii. 12.

CHAPTER V

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

- i. *Personnelle* and Scope of the Mission. Deprived of Barnabas, Paul takes Silas, and afterwards Timothy and Luke. Starting with a visit to his converts in South Galatia, he is led to Troas and so over to Macedonia. Thence he travels south to Greece, and back *viâ* Ephesus to Jerusalem.
- ii. Circumcision of Timothy. A case not touched by the decision of the Council, since his mother was a Jewess, and he, therefore, was legally a Jew, nationality following the mother.
- iii. Phrygia and Galatia. Two views :—
 - (a) That Galatia denotes the Celtic settlements of North Galatia, of which the chief towns were Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium.
 - (b) That the South Galatian cities are meant, *i.e.* those visited during the first journey.
- iv. The Gospel in Macedonia.
 - (a) The nature of the vision : theory that the "man of Macedonia" was Luke himself.
 - (b) Influence of Alexander's work upon the progress of the gospel.
 - (c) Philippi. Hostility of vested interests aroused : unconstitutional behaviour of newly-created magistrates.
 - (d) Thessalonica and Berea. Hostility mainly Jewish.

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY

i. **Personnelle and Scope of the Mission.**—Deprived by this temporary disagreement of the services of his former colleague, Paul had to select a new companion for this tour. His choice fell upon Silas, one of the “chief men among the brethren” at Antioch, and himself also a prophet; nothing, however, is known further concerning him, though his name, which is a contraction of Silvanus, as Lucas of Lucanus, points to Gentile origin. Other companions Paul picked up at various stages of his journey, including Timothy and Luke, who remained closely associated with him for the rest of life. As to the scope of the mission, it was at first intended to be a repetition of the first, but the defection of Barnabas led to a change of plan. He went off to evangelise his own native country, Cyprus, while Paul went by way of *his* native country, Cilicia, to the cities of South Galatia. A series of Divine intimations brought him, by a course which will call for separate consideration later, to Troas, where he was called by a vision to visit Europe. He crossed to Neapolis,

the port of the Roman colony of Philippi, and worked southwards through Thessalonica and Berea to Athens and Corinth. After a prolonged sojourn there he sailed from Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth on the Saronic gulf, to Ephesus, and from thence to Cæsarea.

ii. **Circumcision of Timothy (161-3).**—At first sight it might seem that by the circumcision of Timothy, Paul was surrendering all the liberty that had been acquired at the Council of Jerusalem, but in point of fact it illustrates the consistency of his conduct and the soundness of his judgment. Timothy was the son of a Jewess, his father being a Greek: according to the Rabbinical code, therefore, he would rank as a Jew, nationality following the mother, not the father. This is the key to the whole situation. To have claimed for Timothy the exemptions conceded at the Council would have been to make a use of the decree which had never been contemplated either by Paul or James, for the obligation resting upon the Jewish Christians to keep the law of Moses was never called in question, at this stage at anyrate. This incident furnishes the best concrete embodiment of the principles laid down in 1 Cor. 9 and 10. From the standpoint of *salvation*, Paul made no secret of his disbelief in the efficacy of

circumcision and other acts of ritual: the Epistle to the Galatians is full of it from beginning to end. Yet there was in that and other ceremonial acts nothing inconsistent with the fullest allegiance to the gospel of Christ; and since, from the standpoint of *expediency*, of influence in a certain sphere of work, there was something to be gained by conformity to usage, Paul conformed, becoming "to them that are under the law, as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law" (1 Cor. 9²⁰⁻²¹). The case of Titus (Gal. 2) was different. He was a Greek, and when certain persons of importance urged Paul to have him circumcised for the sake of peace, Paul very rightly refused, as by so doing he would have given away everything for which he had been fighting. It must be noted that the last clause of ch. 16^s gives the reason, not why Timothy should be circumcised now, but why he had not been circumcised before. As the apostles travelled from church to church they delivered the decree of the parent Church, which, although only expressly indited to the disciples of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, was of universal application (16⁴⁻⁵).

iii. **Phrygia and Galatia** (16^e).—The locality of the Galatia of Acts 16^e and 18²³ and the

Epistle is one of the most disputed of all the topographical questions of the New Testament. To those who use this manual it will probably be more helpful if *both* theories are stated with their main arguments, and the choice between them be left to each individual student. It is only comparatively recently that the original interpretation has been assailed, but within that period an immense amount of topographical and antiquarian learning has been brought to bear upon the question, most of it being of a character to revolutionise the accepted theories.

(a) The old view, which, for convenience, may be styled the North-Galatian theory, is that Paul, on leaving the group of cities evangelised on the first journey, and being "forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in [pro-consular] Asia," struck northwards to the treeless district peopled by the Galatæ and constituting Galatia in the strict sense of the term. This district had a unique history which marks it out from the rest of Asia Minor. It owed its colonisation to one of those great Gaulish migrations eastwards, one of which imperilled Rome in B.C. 390, and another of which attempted a raid on Delphi in B.C. 279. "The Gaulish settlement in Asia Minor is directly connected with this (latter) invasion. A con-

siderable force had detached themselves from the main body, refusing to take part in the expedition. Afterwards reinforced by a remnant of the repulsed army, they advanced under the command of the chiefs Leonnarius and Lutarius, and, forcing their way through Thrace, arrived at the east of the Hellespont. They did not long remain here, but, gladly availing themselves of the first means of transport that came to hand, crossed over to the opposite shores, whose fertility held out a rich promise of booty. Thence they overran the greater part of Asia Minor. They laid the whole continent west of Taurus under tribute, and even Syrian kings, it is said, were forced to submit to these humiliating terms. Alternately the scourge and the allies of each Asiatic prince in succession, as passion or interest dictated, they for a time indulged their predatory instincts unchecked. At length vengeance overtook them. A series of disasters, culminating in a total defeat, inflicted by the Pergamene prince, Attalus the First, effectually curbed their power and insolence. By these successive checks they were compressed within comparatively narrow limits in the interior of Asia Minor.”¹ In B.C. 25 the Roman province of Galatia was formed, including not only the

¹ Lightfoot, *Galatians*.

country of the Galatæ, but also Lycaonia, Isauria, and parts of Phrygia and Pisidia, the people of Lystra being expressly mentioned by Pliny as being one of the Galatian peoples. In spite of a very considerable admixture of other elements of population, the inhabitants of Galatia proper retained many of their Celtic characteristics, and Jerome asserts that he heard at Ancyra, the capital both of Galatia proper and of the Galatian province, the same language that he had heard at Trèves. Certainly the conduct described in the Epistle to the Galatians is conspicuously Celtic in its fickleness, though that is a failing too general to admit of any argument being built up on this consideration. It must be admitted that the North-Galatian theory involves a difficulty with Gal. 4 13. "Because of an infirmity of the flesh" implies that the visit itself resulted from previous sickness, not that the sickness overtook him there; in other words, that Paul went there to recruit. But it is hard to believe that an invalid would choose such a district for his convalescence, involving, as it would, a long journey through a country proverbially bare—known as the *axulon*, from its absence of trees—and peopled by a race entirely unknown to him. If, therefore, this theory be accepted, we are to believe

that the Epistle was written to churches the evangelisation of which is not recorded except in the vague words of chs. 16⁶ and 18²³.

(b) Professor Ramsay, who is the ablest of the advocates of the South-Galatian theory, not unnaturally fixes upon the improbability of this supposition. The Galatian churches were evidently very dear to Paul, judging from the expressions of fervent regard in the Epistle, and the affection seems to have been in some way connected with the conditions under which the acquaintance was first made, which renders it almost inexplicable that we should have absolutely no record of the founding of the churches in Luke's narrative. According to this theory, as was said above in connection with the desertion of Mark,¹ the sickness of Gal. 4¹³ was a malarial attack, contracted on the low-lying plains of Pamphylia, which necessitated removal from thence to the higher lands of Antioch and the region round about. It is urged that there is nothing in the text inconsistent with this supposition. The "Phrygian and Galatian country" (ver. 6) denotes a country Phrygian or Galatian according as it is regarded ethnically or politically, and is a recapitulation of vers. 4 and 5, the same composite phrase being used in connection with

¹ P. 101.

Paul's next visit to this district (ch. 18²³). The towns of North Galatia are very scattered, the most important of them—Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium—lying at great distances from each other, and off the main trade routes, which would involve a most substantial addition to the time that can be allotted to this mission tour. Moreover, the Epistle is evidently addressed to a district comprising several churches, but yet compact; but in North Galatia there would not be a Greek-speaking population to understand him, or a Jewish element to begin working upon, except in Ancyra and about two other towns.¹ One difficulty in the South-Galatian theory must be noticed. If this theory be the right one, then the Epistle must have been written before the third journey, for at the time of writing he had only visited his converts twice (chs. 19-418). But if this be so, the Epistle must be taken out of the group with the Epistle to the Romans, with which it has, on the admission of Professor Ramsay himself, greater affinities than with any other, and be placed

¹ Both these points are in opposition to what is laid down by Lightfoot in his essay on the Galatian people. This and the other assertions in this section must be read with the words "according to the advocates of this theory" understood.

in the earliest group with the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

The question is one of very great difficulty, and both sides have champions among the first rank of scholars. The Epistle, as pointed out above, represents a characteristically Celtic fickleness, but the same charge is brought by Roman writers against the people of Lycaonia, and their behaviour in Acts 14 illustrates this. There is no inherent improbability in the idea of Paul evangelising and watching over a remote district, but the same cannot be said of the Judaisers dogging his footsteps and carrying their hostility into this far-off corner. The reference to Barnabas (Gal. 2 13) has been claimed by both sides as supporting their contention, but if it can be taken to have any bearing upon this question—which is doubtful—it favours the South-Galatian theory, since the Northern Galatians, evangelised—if at all—on the second journey, would have no such personal acquaintance with Barnabas as seems to be implied in the Epistle.

iv. (a) **The Gospel in Macedonia** (16 7–18 13).—The reason for the prohibitions concerning work in Asia and Bithynia, strange as they must have seemed to Paul at the time, at last became clear. The remoteness of Bithynia and the

large number of important cities in proconsular Asia would have alike served to postpone the evangelisation of Europe had he visited them first, and it was the purpose of God that Paul should bring the gospel into Europe, leaving the first mission to the cities of Asia in the hands of others. He was guided to Troas (16 9), where he saw the vision which caused him to cross the *Ægean* Sea. Most writers have dismissed this vision as belonging to the same class as the other visions by which, in Old and New Testament alike, God is represented as having intimated His will; Professor Ramsay, however, has given an entirely new interpretation of it, and as this theory gives a fresh element of interest to the narrative, it will be worth while to state it in a condensed form. A Macedonian, he says, so far from being recognisable as such, was anxious to be reckoned as a Greek, and would dress accordingly; therefore the man in the vision must have been personally known to Paul as a Macedonian, this definiteness being quite in keeping with the word used, "a certain man" (cf. chs. 5 1 8 9). Putting this side by side with the appearance of "we" at this point of the narrative, intimating Luke's presence, and with the acknowledged connection—in some way or

other—of Luke with Philippi, we arrive at the idea that Paul on coming to Troas made the acquaintance of the Macedonian Luke, and that in visions of the night he beheld him beckoning him onwards to his own country. Though, like so many similar suggestions, the theory is incapable of either proof or disproof, the idea is a most beautiful one, and imparts an added significance to the subsequent record of Luke's devotion to his master.

(b) Paul accepted the vision at once as a divine call to service, and after a two days' passage they reached Neapolis (16 11), the reverse journey taking them, on a later occasion (ch. 20 6), no less than five days: and without pausing at Neapolis they went straight up to Philippi. Lightfoot, in a most striking passage¹ in his essay on the *Churches of Macedonia*, calls attention to the great achievements of Alexander of Macedon as a preparation for the preaching of the gospel. Referring to Alexander's declaration that he had been "sent by God to unite, pacify, and reconcile the whole world," he says, "This generous sentiment of Alexander was an anticipation, however feeble,

¹ *Biblical Essays*, p. 238 *sqq.* Professor Ramsay condemns the passage as "mere riot of pseudo-historical fancy"—a most unjust estimate in the opinion of the present writer.

of the work of that great Reconciler who broke down the partition walls between castes and nations, and may well recall the loftier utterance of St. Paul, who proclaimed that there was now 'neither Greek nor Jew, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free,' but all were 'one in Christ.' And when again we read of the taunts levelled at the Macedonian king by narrower-minded Greeks, because he strove to conciliate the Oriental peoples, whom he had vanquished, by conforming to their dress and habits as matters of indifference, we seem to trace the shadow of that large-hearted policy of the apostle of the Gentiles, who, in a like spirit, but with a nobler aim, braved the fierce hatred of his countrymen, consenting to be reviled as a subverter of the laws and institutions of his fathers, and, himself a Jew, became as a Greek to the Greeks that he might win them to Christ." To an educated man, endued with an imaginative temperament prone to perceive analogies,¹ these memories of the past would be most likely to suggest themselves, and in any case he could never forget that it was owing to Alexander that the Greek language had become an almost universal medium of communica-

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. 9, Phil. 3, and other reminiscences of the Games : also the analogy of the *Civitas* in Phil. 3 20 1 27.

tion throughout the Empire, whereby a world-mission was rendered possible without the working of a perpetual miracle.

(c) Philippi, as its name suggests, had originally been founded by the great Philip, and Augustus reconstituted it as a Roman colony, recognising its fine situation from a strategic point of view. Luke's description of it is decidedly obscure, for nothing but the most excessive partiality for his own city could have led a writer to describe Philippi as the most important city of Macedonia, and yet that seems the natural meaning to put upon the words, if "first" be taken to denote rank. It may merely mean that Philippi was the first city which they would reach after crossing the hills from Neapolis, or that it was the chief city of a district. Its promotion to the dignity of a Roman colony was sufficiently recent to make the titles and privileges associated with that position still objects of pride to their possessors, and the conduct of the magistrates on this occasion is precisely what might be expected from officials overwhelmed with a sense of their new importance. They act with high-handed insolence, and then are full of fear when they see where their precipitancy has landed them. The Jewish element in the city seems to have been small,

for there is no mention of a synagogue, but the existence of a place of prayer on a river-bank points to the presence of Jews, and Paul, in accordance with his custom, commenced by preaching to them. It was only incidentally that this brought the apostles into trouble. On their way to this place of prayer they encountered a girl who is described as having "a spirit, a Python," or what is elsewhere described as "a familiar spirit." She was probably liable to epileptic fits, and when in that condition would give vent to more or less incoherent ravings. This suggested to certain designing persons an easy source of gain; they would proclaim this girl as a prophetess and her ravings as messages from the unseen world, and themselves reap the fruits of her pretended divinations. Paul's miracle therefore interfered with their gains, and the heartless heathen world was unable to view with complacency any act of beneficence which involved pecuniary loss. The apostles are brought before the magistrates, and their miracle is construed into a charge of disloyalty to Rome, a charge which would be believed without any proof at all where Jews were concerned, such was the universal hatred felt towards them. The correct title of the rulers of a colony is *dumviri*, not

prætores, but both Cicero and Horace refer to the frequent assumption of the most dignified titles by the rulers of insignificant towns, and that supposition is perfectly in accordance with the spirit of this narrative. Full of a sense of their importance, these self-styled prætors set themselves to protect the Roman Empire against these dangerous enemies, and in their eager incompetence they altogether lose sight of Roman principles of justice, for they subject their prisoners to a form of punishment from which a Roman citizen was legally exempt, and that without any pretence of a trial. So hurried had the proceedings been, and so tumultuous, that Paul's claim to the privileges of Roman citizenship had passed unheeded, for it is quite inconsistent with his character to suppose that he would have tamely submitted to these illegal indignities without a protest. On the morrow the magistrates seem to have felt that they had acted precipitately, for they sent unsolicited an order for the release of the prisoners, and their disquiet was enormously increased when they realised that in their eagerness to live up to their dignity they had transgressed one of the strictest Roman laws, for according to Cicero¹ "it is a misdemeanour

¹ *In Verrem*, v. 66.

for a Roman citizen to be bound, a crime for him to be beaten, little short of parricide for him to be slain." This accounts for their acceding to Paul's demand that they should make public apology, not in words but in action, for it was necessary to conciliate one who might appeal to the Emperor against the injustice he had suffered. There is no reason to believe that the magistrates knew anything about what had happened during the night, for an earthquake is proverbially capricious in its operation, and what opened the prison doors might not be felt further down the same street.

(*d*) The progress of the apostles southwards is treated with much greater brevity (17 1-14). From Philippi to Thessalonica they proceeded along the famous Egnatian Way, which was the main line of communication between Italy and the East. The Appian Way ran from Rome to Brundisium: there ships plied for Dyrrachium and Western Apollonia, and from Dyrrachium the Egnatian Way ran through Thessalonica, Amphipolis, and Philippi, to Byzantium. Both at Thessalonica and Berea the opposition, unlike that at Philippi, comes from the Jews, who, like the accusers of Jesus, feign loyalty to Rome that they may make capital out of the alleged disloyalty of their private enemies. In connection

with Thessalonica we receive another striking proof of Luke's accuracy. The "rulers of the city" in ver. 6 are styled *politarchai*, a word which is found nowhere else in Greek literature, but which seems to have been the title of the magistrates of Thessalonica, since an inscription preserved in the modern town of Salonica—an inscription dating from the first century A.D.—names certain men as such. At Bercea the Jews were a shade more reasonable, since they did condescend to compare the claims made by Paul with the prophecies of their own Scriptures, instead of being blinded by jealousy from the first. But the ultimate result was the same, for enraged Jews came on from Thessalonica, just as they had dogged Paul's footsteps from one Lycaonian city to another on the first journey, and it was thought advisable to send him on by sea to Athens, Silas and Timothy remaining behind.

And for the rest
I cannot tell thy messenger aright
Where to deliver what he bears of thine
To one called Paulus ; we have heard his fame
Indeed, if Christus be not one with him—
I know not, nor am troubled much to know.
Thou canst not think a mere barbarian Jew
As Paulus proves to be, one circumcised,
Hath access to a secret shut from us !
Thou wrongest our philosophy, O king,
In stooping to enquire of such an one
As if his answer could impose at all !

ROBERT BROWNING, *Cleon*.

The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.—1 COR.
iii. 19.

CHAPTER VI

ATHENS AND CORINTH

Introduction to a new type of life, where Paul shows the same power of adapting himself to circumstances that he always showed. Athens was pre-eminently characterised by adherence to religious ceremony, and of this fact Paul takes advantage.

i. Stoics and Epicureans.

- (a) Stoics founded about B.C. 360 by Zeno, and derived their name from the Porch in which he taught. He was followed by Chrysippus and Cleanthes.
- (b) 1. Their religious belief was pantheistic, and is most clearly embodied in Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*.
2. From the standpoint of conduct the chief maxim of Stoicism was "to live in accordance with nature."
- (c) The superficial resemblance between Christianity and Stoicism is mainly due to the fact of Paul's having taken their phraseology and given it a higher meaning.
- (d) Epicureanism was in almost all points the antithesis of Stoicism. Though liable to degenerate

into sensualism, it must not be considered as essentially bad : the "pleasure" which was the Epicurean *summum bonum* was rather what we indicate by "tranquillity." Bears a considerable likeness to Sadducaism.

ii. Paul's Address.

- (a) The scene may be either the Hill of Mars itself, or a session of the Court of the Areopagus, which only met for its more solemn trials on the Hill, the other sessions being probably held in halls off the market-place.
- (b) The address itself is based in general upon the religious disposition of the Athenians as manifested in the objects of their devotions, and in particular upon the inscription of an altar, "To an Unknown God,"—a historic fact attested by other writers.
- (c) No record of an immediate formation of a church, though one was flourishing a hundred years after. Aristides the Apologist was an Athenian.

At Corinth, Paul found himself in the centre of the wealth and luxury of the Grecian world, but it is evident that he found it easier to make an impression upon the wickedness of Corinth than the intellectual pride of Athens.

- i. Aquila and Priscilla associated with Paul both in trade and preaching : probably new converts.
- ii. Gallio, the brother of Seneca. Refuses to have his time occupied with a merely theological question.
- iii. The vow : one of those harmless concessions which Paul made to Jewish usage.

ATHENS AND CORINTH

ATHENS

The hostility of the Jewish element in Macedonia having rendered it advisable that he should leave the country, he accordingly continued his southward progress, taking ship from one of the ports of Beroëa for Athens. Although he was eager to revisit his converts at Thessalonica, as is clear from his Epistles, it is hard to believe that this visit to the intellectual metropolis of the world was an accident due to unforeseen circumstances, that "in Athens he was merely waiting for the chance of returning to Thessalonica."¹ To one such as Paul, a visit to Athens could not but be of intense interest. It is probably a mistake to regard Paul as a man of deep learning or of wide culture, simply because he had been brought up at the university city of Tarsus; but he had enough learning to enable him to realise to the full the historic greatness of Athens. He was essentially what we should call to-day a well-educated man, and he was,

¹ Ramsay.

moreover, endowed with a wonderful power of appreciation, whereby he was able to adapt himself to all kinds of different circumstances. We have already seen how he accommodated his message to the varied characteristics of the South Galatian churches, and here again we see yet more remarkably manifested the same gift. In Athens, the city of Socrates, he not only speaks in the Jewish synagogue (17 17), but he teaches, after the manner of Socrates, by discussion with those who come up to him in the market-place. To many he seemed a mere impostor, whose doctrine consisted of ill-digested fragments from other teachers—for this is the sense implied by the slang term which is applied to him; others regarded him as a preacher of some foreign religious system, and sheer Athenian curiosity would win for him a hearing on that score, if nothing else would. But there was probably something more behind this prevalent curiosity, this desire for the latest gossip. Among this crowd there were probably many who eagerly listened to any new religious teaching from sheer weariness with the impotence of the old. No city was more given over than Athens to the outward observances of religion, as is attested by the familiar saying that there it was easier to find a god than a man; but there was little

more living faith in religion at Athens than at Rome, and earnest spirits would gladly turn from the vanities and immoralities of heathenism to the message of Paul, new and foreign though it was.

i. **Stoics and Epicureans** (17¹⁸).—The intellectual decline of Greece synchronises with the loss of its political liberties, and the philosophy of Athens at the time of Paul's visit was only a very imperfect echo of the past, lacking originality not only of conception, but also of application, a mere thing of words and nothing more. And yet the Athenians flattered themselves that they were the successors of the great teachers of the world; they ranged themselves into schools after the ancient pattern, and as members of rival schools they encountered Paul.

(a) The Stoic philosophy owes its origin to Zeno, of Citium in Cyprus, who lived about B.C. 360. Dissatisfied with the existing schools of philosophy, he determined to found one of his own, and from the fact of his giving his instruction in an arcade known as the *Stoa Poecile*, his school became known as the school of the Stoics.

(b) In many of its aspects their teaching does not concern us here, but it is necessary to understand some of the salient points of their

doctrine concerning the Deity, and also their maxims for conduct.

1. Unlike the Epicureans, the Stoics believed in a Divine all-pervading Spirit and ruling principle of the world, from which they held the human soul to be an emanation, even going the length of speaking of it as "God within us." This all-pervading Spirit was known by various names, Fate, Mind, Zeus, and many others. The hymn of Cleanthes, which was one of the poems referred to by Paul in his address at Athens, gives us the clearest conception of the Stoic idea of God, at its best: "O Thou of many names, most glorious of immortals, Almighty Zeus, Sovereign Ruler of nature, directing all things in accordance with law: Thee it is right that all mortals should address, for Thine offspring we are, and alone of all Thy creatures that live and move on earth have received from Thee the gift of imitative sound. Wherefore I will hymn Thy praise and sing Thy might for ever. The universe, as it rolls around this earth, obeys Thy guidance, and willingly submits it to Thy control. . . . No work is done without Thee, O Lord, neither on earth, nor in the heaven, nor in the sea, except what the wicked do in their foolishness. Thou knowest how to make the rough smooth, and bringest order out

of disorder, and things not friendly are friendly in Thy sight; for so hast Thou fitted all things together, good and evil alike, that there might be one eternal law and reason for all things. The wicked heed it not, unhappy ones, who, though ever craving for good, have neither eyes nor ears for the universal law of God, by wise obedience to which they might attain a noble life. But now they think not of right; but hasten each after his own way, some painfully striving for honour, others bent on shameful gains, others on luxury and the pleasures of the body. But do Thou, all-bounteous Zeus, who sittest in the clouds and rulest the thunder, save men from their grievous ignorance; scatter it from their souls, and grant them to obtain wisdom, whereon relying Thou dost govern all things in righteousness; that so, being honoured, we may requite Thee with honour, as it is fitting for man to do, since there is no nobler office for mortals or for gods, than duly to praise for evermore the universal law.”¹

2. To the Stoic virtue was the highest good, and virtue consisted in “living according to nature,” a phrase of very great difficulty, but which seems to denote the ordering of life by the individual according to his best good, in so

¹ Mayor's translation, in *Ancient Philosophies*.

far as it is not contrary to the good of the whole. For the attainment of this knowledge it is required that a man may see "what is in accordance with nature and the Divine law," and the field of study was divided into physics, the understanding of the order of the world; ethics, the application of that understanding to conduct; and logic, the mental discipline needful for the right pursuit of the other studies. This type of virtue being the Stoic's "chief good," it naturally followed that all things else were *adiaphora*, things indifferent, except in so far as they constitute a field in which virtue is to be displayed. "If ivory and gold are wanting, the art of Phidias will show itself in baser materials; so the wise man will show his mastery in the art of life alike in poverty as in wealth, in adversity as in prosperity. Nay, the less favourable his circumstances are, the greater is the call on the resources of his art, and the more glorious his success if he succeeds in acting the virtuous part. A good man struggling with adversity is a spectacle worthy of God. Until we have learnt the lesson that our happiness can neither be increased nor diminished by the presence or absence of anything outside of ourselves, anything which is not in our own power, we can never attain to that

inner calm which is the essence of true happiness."¹

(c) It is impossible, when reading these words of Professor Mayor's, to escape from the feeling of the analogy between such teaching and that of Christianity, and so important an example of the contact between the old world and the new faith must not be left unnoticed here. It is not only the minds of recent students that have been struck with this analogy. The forged correspondence between Paul and Seneca may have been the cause or may have been the effect of this sense of analogy, but the fact remains that some of the early Fathers were so much impressed with the analogy that they speak of "Seneca, often our own," or "our own Seneca,"² and even to the present day in the marionette plays of his native country, Spain, "St. Seneca" figures side by side with the apostles of the Lord.³ In their belief in a personal act of creation—as opposed to the "fortuitous conglomeration of atoms" maintained by the Epicureans—and in an all-pervading Divine Spirit, as in certain aspects of their ethical system, the Stoics approach Christi-

¹ Mayor, p. 158.

² Tertullian and Jerome.

³ Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 270, Dissertation on "Paul and Seneca."

anity, and those who are curious will find much that is interesting in the catalogue of parallels which Lightfoot has given in his dissertation ; and they will also find there the " case against the analogy " stated with great force. A few explanations, not mutually exclusive, of these parallels may be stated here. (1) It is noticeable that not one Stoic philosopher of eminence was a native Greek, many of them being of Semitic origin. This fact affords a very possible indication of the source from whence they derived their earnest religious characteristics. (2) And although these Stoic expressions seem to be so close to those of the Christian Scriptures the resemblance is very much more in the words than in the realities behind them, and even when Christian and Stoic are found using the same terms they use them in a radically different sense. In like manner the gulf between the best of the Stoics and the average Stoic was as great as that between the Christian and the best of the Stoics. This dual use of the same phraseology is well illustrated by a comparison between the ideal of the Stoic wise man and Paul's words in 1 Cor. 3, 2 Cor. 6-9, Phil. 4. Both dwell upon self-sufficiency as characterising the hero, but how different is the source of that self-sufficiency ! In the one case its origin is to be found in human pride ; in the other it springs

from complete dependence upon Divine power within, appropriated by an act of faith.

(3) A comparison between the teaching of Paul and the current maxims of the Stoics will go far towards substantiating the belief that, so far from Stoicism being influenced by Christianity, it was Paul who borrowed, though only its phraseology, not its ideas. To do so was in accordance with his custom. To the Corinthians, so familiar with the great national festival of the Isthmian games, he (*e.g.* 1 Cor. 9) spoke in the language of the games until those familiar scenes became transfigured into a parable of the Christian life. If he did so with the language of the games, why not with the language of the schools? With that language he could not but be familiar, for Cilicia was the native land of several of the most eminent Stoics. So he accepted their teaching so far as it went; he took their cold, hard, lifeless form and breathed into it the spirit of life; he received their faith in an all-pervading force, and transfigured it so that it was no longer cruel fate but loving fatherhood; and the academic appreciation of a "mistake" gave place to a heart-felt sense of sin, not against impersonal nature but against a personal God.

(4) The Epicurean philosophy may be very briefly described as being all that the Stoic

philosophy was not. In many respects it bears the same relation to Stoicism that Sadducaism bore to Pharisaism, an analogy which suggested itself as far back as the time of Josephus. The Epicureans maintained that creation was due to blind chance, not to design; they denied the abiding presence of the Divine Spirit in the world, for their gods lived far removed from earthly affairs, knowing nothing and caring nothing; and their maxims of conduct started from a radically different assumption. The school was founded by Epicurus about B.C. 306, and was essentially a revolt against superstition. Like the Sadducees they have left little literature behind them, most of our knowledge concerning them being derived from quotations in other writers,¹ with the exception of the great work of Lucretius. The central point of their teaching is the elevation of pleasure—instead of virtue—to the position of the chief good. But pleasure to Epicurus did not mean sensual enjoyment or even idleness: it was rather tranquillity and freedom from fear to which he directed men's minds, and everything which we can gather concerning his own personal character suggests a

¹ Diogenes Laertius is the chief classical authority on the subject. A cultured "respectable" Epicureanism dominates the *Odes* of Horace.

man of abstemious habits and upright life. Still, it is very easy to appreciate the danger of deterioration under such teaching. By making tranquillity the main object of desire, men are not only deprived of the stimulus which Christianity—as also Stoicism—derives from conflict with misfortune and evil, but are positively led into a pathway full of pitfalls for the weak and unwary. Although Epicurus himself attached more importance to mental pleasures than bodily, as being more lasting, that sentiment did not characterise his followers, who for the most part became voluptuaries of the most throughgoing type, recognising no restraint in this world or retribution in a world to come.

ii. **Paul's Address** (17 19-34).—(a) The interest, partly sincere, partly curious, aroused by Paul's informal teaching in the market-place led certain to demand a more formal exposition of his doctrine, so they brought him "to the Areopagus." Around this phrase there has been many a conflict, since it admits of two very different interpretations. (1) The older view was that the word Areopagus here represents a topographical fact, the Hill of Mars being a rocky eminence to the west of the Acropolis. The generally accepted legend concerning the origin of the name is that it was on this spot that Ares, the Roman Mars,

was brought to trial by Poseidon (Neptune) for the murder of the latter's son, but whether this be so or not the Court which derived its name from this place of meeting was a body of very great antiquity, uniting in itself various judicial functions, administrative and executive, much after the fashion of the English Curia Regis in the Angevin period. Stones are still pointed out where the plaintiff and the defendant stood on the occasion of trials for homicide, which constituted the chief business of the Court in its later days, so far as its formal meetings upon the Hill of Mars were concerned. (2) On the other side, it is urged that the Athenians would not be very likely to bring one for whom they had contempt to address them from one of the most revered spots in their city, where, moreover, there was no room for a large audience, and where all present would be exposed to the full force of sun, wind, or rain, as the case might be. The other supposition, therefore, is that Paul was not brought before the Court at one of those solemn sessions on the Hill, described by Demosthenes and others, but before a committee of the Court sitting in one of the halls beside the Agora. Even when its sphere of activity was curtailed, on the ground of its being an aristocratic obstacle to the sway of the democracy, it retained with its judicial

functions certain censorial powers over religion and morals, though not over politics as before. Thus we find that on the suggestion of Cicero the Areopagites invited the great Peripatetic philosopher Cratippus to lecture in Athens,¹ which indicates the possession of a certain degree of control of education, probably in the examination of the credentials of new teachers. This view of the functions of the Areopagus is admirably in accord with the circumstances of Paul's speech. Assuming him to be one of the stream of new teachers constantly pouring into Athens, his listeners at once led him off to have his fitness tested; there is nothing to suggest the pomp and circumstance of a trial, and the polite—contemptuously polite—"may we know" has not the ring of a warrant for arrest. Before this "Standing Committee on Religion" he expounds his doctrine, but not to its members alone, for the Athenians, ever on the look-out for the latest sensation, would flock thither in crowds.

(b) (17 22-31) The spirit of Paul's address upon this occasion could not have been grasped by the translators of 1611, for in few passages are there more instances of the wrong colour being given to a phrase by the adoption of a word which in many cases might be an accurate translation, but

¹ Plutarch, *Vit. Cic.* c. 24.

which in the case in point conveys a wholly wrong impression. The courteous, conciliatory spirit of the man who above all others was best able to enter into the feelings and respect the convictions of others, is lost, and instead we have a maladroit tirade against heathenism. The Revisers have mended the passage distinctly, but have not gone the whole distance, especially in ver. 22, where they have rightly substituted "somewhat superstitious" (*marg.* religious) for "too superstitious," but have shrunk from accepting a translation which represents Paul's acceptance of the respect paid by Athenians to religious worship as the starting-point of his address. In his wanderings through the city he had seen an altar inscribed, *To an Unknown God*, and this he fixed upon as his theme. The existence of altars with that inscription is attested by many other writers, but the explanations given are various. It was the custom of the Greeks, when visited by any calamity, to sacrifice to every deity who might be thought likely to be concerned, and when all these acts of devotion failed to bring relief it is easy to believe that altars were erected to the god, whoever he might be, who had sent the calamity. Indeed, Diogenes Laertius relates that once, when a plague visited Athens, and men did not know whence it had come, Epimenides gave

orders that black and white sheep should be let loose from the Areopagus, and altars built wherever they might lie down. "Hence it comes," he says, "that altars are still found in Athens which do not bear the name of any known God." Paul, true to his principle, accepts this fact for what it is worth, as testifying—in however poor a manner—to their search after God, and then leads them on to his great message, that the God whom they worshipped, "not knowing who He is," was the God who had created all things, sustained all things, and would in the end judge all men, having vouchsafed a final revelation to the world in the person of His Son, "whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead." The quotation in ver. 28 is found exactly in the *Phenomena* of Aratus, a Stoic poet of Soli in Cilicia, who lived in the third century B.C.; the expression in Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*, quoted above, is almost identical.

(c) (17³²⁻³⁴) The exact impression made by Paul upon the Athenians it is difficult to estimate. In general tone his address was in accordance with the Stoic conception of the world, but on a far higher level. The Resurrection, however, would be a stumbling-block to Stoics and Epicureans alike, since to the former it was inconsistent with their belief in the final

re-absorption of all things into the Divine Being, while the latter denied all existence after death. It is not unreasonable to read into the first few chapters of the first Corinthian Epistle a sense of disappointment on the apostle's part with his Athenian visit, as contrasted with that to Corinth which followed it. He had been thrown among men of the academic type, and he had presented his message in the form in which he thought it would be most likely to meet with their acceptance, only, however, to find that the wisdom of this world, proud in its own conceit, was unable to grasp the things of God. He comes, therefore, to Corinth, glad to be clear of the artificialities of a false wisdom, and to be once more in contact with human men and women, where it would not be demanded of him that he should orate in "persuasive words of wisdom." And yet the impression made in Athens was probably greater than Paul himself imagined. It is true that there is no reference to the formation of a church, and his stay does not seem to have occupied more than from four to six weeks, but in the next century there was a vigorous church in Athens, to which tradition has always assigned Dionysius as the first bishop, and to which also probably belonged "Aristides, the Athenian philosopher," whose *Apology* (cir.

175 A.D.), mentioned by Eusebius, has been recently discovered.¹

CORINTH

The conditions under which Paul worked at Corinth were widely different from those at Athens. Athens, however it may have degenerated since the days of Socrates, never lost entirely the atmosphere of culture which belonged to it in its Golden Age. Corinth had never been pre-eminently a city of culture so much as of commerce, and as a commercial centre it had entirely recovered from its fall in B.C. 146, when it was sacked by L. Mummius, and it was at this time the capital of the Roman province of Achaia. The chief factor in the making of Corinth was its situation. As far back as the age of the Homeric poems it had been recognised as a position of rare advantage for trading, and very naturally so. Situated upon the narrow isthmus joining Northern and Southern Greece, it had the benefit of possessing two ports, Lechæum on the Corinthian gulf and Cenchreæ on the Saronic gulf,

¹ For translation and notes upon this interesting work, see *Texts and Studies in Patristic Literature*, vol. i. Professor J. Rendel Harris. Cam. Univ. Press.

thus escaping the delay and danger of sending its commerce round Cape Malea. It was in the Posidonium, or sanctuary of Neptune, to the north-east of Corinth, that the famous Isthmian games were held every two years. The frequent adoption by Paul of the phraseology of the games renders it almost certain that he had been present at them, probably during the year and six months of this first visit. The remains of the Stadium where the foot-races were run are still visible, and close at hand are to be found in great abundance the pine-trees which supplied the fading wreath, "the corruptible crown" (1 Cor. 9²⁵), which was the one prize for victors in these contests. Owing to its position "upon two seas"¹ it had become an international rendezvous, which was not without influence in making it one of the most corrupt cities of a corrupt age, a city where the licentious cult of Aphrodite was supreme. Bengel, in his usual sententious fashion, exclaims, "The Church of God in Corinth! What a glad and wondrous paradox!" It was so, and the daily environment of the Corinthian converts must constantly be borne in mind in connection with the reading of the two Corinthian Epistles, for in few of Paul's writings is there

¹ Bimarise Corinthi mœnia. Hor. *Od.* i. 7.2.

so much "local colour" and specialised instruction.

i. **Aquila and Priscilla** (181-4).—This first reference to these trusty helpers of the apostle leaves us in doubt as to whether they were Christians when Paul found them or not. Their presence in Corinth was the result of an edict of Claudius banishing all Jews from Rome, "owing to the action of Chrestus," a phrase of Suetonius which may denote a riot headed by one of that name, or, more likely, a persecution arising out of disputes between Jews and Christians: the Romans, in their genuine contempt for things foreign in general, and things Jewish in particular, assumed that the name so often mentioned was that of a party leader, and, not caring to investigate, banished both parties. The edict cannot have been carried thoroughly into effect, at anyrate for long, since there were Jews in Rome when Paul reached it (ch. 2817), and Aquila himself returned thither after staying some years at Ephesus (1 Cor. 1619, Rom. 163). Paul's first association with Aquila seems to have arisen out of the custom of fellow-craftsmen sitting together in the synagogue: "The people did not sit mixed together, but goldsmiths by themselves and silversmiths by themselves; . . . and when a poor man came there

he recognised the members of his craft, and went there, and from thence was his support and that of the members of his house."¹ In Corinth Paul would be especially desirous of being independent of the gifts of his converts. At the same time as he vindicated his *right* to "live by the gospel" he refused to "reap their carnal things," lest he might thereby "cause a hindrance to the gospel of Christ" (1 Cor. 9 11-16), by incurring the suspicion, in that commercially-minded city, of preaching the gospel for gain. Crispus, whose conversion is here related, was one of the very few whom Paul himself baptized (1 Cor. 14), an ordinance which he was wont to leave to his companions to perform, as indeed Jesus Himself did (John 4 2). In Paul's case it may well have been part of his pronounced indifference to ecclesiastical procedure: he preached the gospel and awakened men's consciences; he left to others all subsequent ceremonial acts.

ii. Gallio (18 5-17).—It was Jewish hostility again that brought Paul under the notice of the authorities. Possibly because the proconsul was comparatively new to the province, they attempted to obtain his assistance in their battle with the Christians, but they had miscalculated concerning their man. Gallio at once realised that

¹ T. B. *Succah*. 51b, quoted by Lumby.

the point at issue was one of theology and not of public order, and he very rightly came to the conclusion that such a question did not come within his province at all: on this ground, therefore, he quashed the prosecution. The mob, seeing in this common-sense decision a demonstration against the hated Jews, promptly beat the leaders of the prosecution under the very eyes of the proconsul, whose Roman instincts led him to overlook an assault which if committed against others than Jews he would have felt bound to punish. In the use of the word "proconsul" Luke again manifests his conspicuous accuracy. Achaia, which term now denoted the whole of the province and not merely the district north of the Peloponnesus as in classical times, was at first a senatorial province; by Tiberius it was resumed by the Emperor; by Claudius it was restored to the Senate, and therefore at this particular time its ruler bore the title which Luke here gives him. Gallio was the brother of L. Annæus Seneca, the philosopher, who was for a time the tutor of Nero, and the poet Lucan, the writer of the *Pharsalia*, was his nephew. Seneca speaks with great warmth of the lovable disposition of his brother, and of the gentle firmness with which he put down all who would flatter him. Those

who believe in the direct communication between Paul and Seneca¹ read a great deal into this narrative by way of suggesting Gallio as a link between them; but Luke says nothing that can be taken as an indication that Gallio sided with Paul, and indeed he expressly states that Gallio dismissed the case without hearing Paul's defence. As a matter of fact the Acts covers a period at which the Roman officials in the provinces had not yet begun to take up a position of pronounced hostility to the Christians, and to a man of Gallio's temperament, Paul, whose only crime was his attack upon Jewish belief, would not appear an element of danger to the State.

iii. **The Vow** (18¹⁸).—Only a few pages back we noted Paul's conformance to heathen usage, where harmless, in the matter of the games: here we find him conforming to Jewish usage without in any degree surrendering his Christian liberty. The vow was probably that of the Nazirite (Num. 6¹⁻²¹), and may well have been taken by him either during sickness or in some time of peculiar difficulty. One of the outward signs of this vow was the leaving of the head unshorn until the vow was completed by a visit to Jerusalem, where the hair would be offered

¹ Above, p. 143.

with solemn ceremony. Later usage, however, seems to have permitted those who, when they took the vow, were travelling or residing at a distance, to poll the hair, keeping it to be burnt at the time when the vow was completed at Jerusalem. To Paul's mind this would present itself as a harmless token of consecration to God's service, and therefore a matter upon which he might fairly join hands with his Jewish brethren, as was the ground of his eagerness to return to Jerusalem,—his desire to attend the Feast of Passover (18¹⁹⁻²²),—if we accept the reading of the *Textus Receptus* in ver. 21. Whatever the cause may have been, he undoubtedly did hasten back, sailing from Cenchreæ to Ephesus, and from thence, after a very short stay, to Cæsarea, and thence to Jerusalem.

Then he giveth it the semblance of the image of a man . . . and having made for it a chamber worthy of it, he setteth it in a wall, making it fast with iron. While then he taketh thought for it that it may not fall down, knowing that it is unable to help itself (for verily it is an image and hath need of help); when he maketh his prayer for goods and his marriage and children, he is not ashamed to speak to that which hath no life; yea, for health he calleth upon that which is weak, and for life he beseecheth that which is dead, and for aid he supplicateth that which hath least experience, and for a good journey that which cannot so much as move a step.—WISDOM, xiii. 13-18.

CHAPTER VII

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

- i. *Personnelle* and Scope of the Mission. Far more vaguely described than the two former : numerous companions mentioned, but with scarcely any indication of their labours. The work of the journey centres in Ephesus, nothing else being described.
- ii. Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew who had accepted John the Baptist's teaching, and is further instructed by Aquila and Priscilla. Obtained great influence in the Corinthian Church.
- iii. Paul at Ephesus.
 - (a) His lengthy stay was probably broken by evangelistic visits to the cities round : possibly the Epistle to the Ephesians was a circular letter to the churches thus evangelised by himself and his colleagues, centring in Ephesus.
 - (b) Ephesus notorious for its sorcerers, magicians, etc., who were mostly Jews.
 - (c) Worship of Diana had its chief seat there : no connection with the Grecian goddess. The images of this goddess represent her as many-breasted, symbolising the fruitfulness of the earth. Her temple was one of the great wonders of the world. The riot arose out of

the damage done to the trade in images by Paul's preaching.

(d) Notable instances of Luke's accurate use of titles :
asiarch, town-clerk, proconsuls, and neōkoros.

iv. Paul's address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus. An *Apologia pro vita sua*, as well as a warning for the future against false teaching.

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY

i. **Personnelle and Scope of the Mission.**—The rapid transition from the narrative of the second missionary journey to the third (ch. 18²²) seems to tell a melancholy story of hostility. Paul landed at Cæsarea, went up, *i.e.* to Jerusalem, and saluted the church, and went down to Antioch (18²²). There is only too much reason to believe that the brevity of his visit to Jerusalem on this occasion was due to the hostility, or at anyrate suspicion, with which he was received in certain quarters. The decision of the Council of Jerusalem had by no means silenced the Judaisers, and Paul's increased success would only tend to rouse more determined resistance upon their part; hence his desire to leave such unsympathetic surroundings and breathe the freer air of Antioch. Concerning the third journey we have a far less complete narrative than of the two former, and it is less easy to trace the activity of his particular associates. Timothy and Erastus seem to have been with him as a rule (ch. 19²²), in ver. 29 Gaius and Aristarchus are described

as his companions in travel, in ch. 20⁴ we have a further list including the above, with the exception of Erastus, and giving in addition the names of Sopater of Berea, Secundus, Tychicus, and Trophimus, and, lastly, the resumption of the "we" in ver. 6 indicates that Luke had been sojourning at Philippi since Paul left it on his former journey, and now on his return rejoined him. Starting from Antioch, after a short stay, he travelled—probably by road, for Luke always has something to say concerning sea voyages—to the "region of Galatia and Phrygia,"¹ and so came to Ephesus, which is the centre of gravity for this journey, for concerning no other sphere of work is there any detailed account. From Ephesus he sailed to Macedonia, travelled southwards into Greece as before, and intended to sail thence to Syria; but, learning of a Jewish plot, he returned to Macedonia and crossed to Troas,—in five days this time,—where he stayed seven days. From Troas to Assos he went by land, for some reason which is not even hinted at, rejoining his companions there, and coasting on to Patara, where they came in with a vessel sailing to Phœnicia, which landed them at Tyre.

ii. **Apollos** (18²⁴⁻²⁸).—During the absence of

¹ See above, p. 119.

Paul there came to Ephesus Apollos, an Alexandrian Jew who afterwards became one of the great preachers of the apostolic age. Alexander had shown particular favour to the Jews when he founded his city in B.C. 332, in consideration of their services against the Egyptians, and Philo estimates the Jews of Alexandria during this period at no less than a million, which, even if somewhat of an exaggeration, points to the existence in the city of a Jewish colony so powerful as to strongly influence the current of thought. But the Alexandrian Jews do not seem to have been characterised by the exclusive, anti-Greek sentiment which was so marked in the Palestinian Jew; they insensibly were influenced by the catholicity of spirit which pervaded the institutions of Alexander,¹ and the result was a curious blend of Jewish and Greek learning, which set itself to discover analogies between the teaching of the scribes and the philosophers, between Moses and Plato. Amid these surroundings Apollos had been brought up, and they served to render him a conspicuously useful and congenial fellow-worker to Paul. His education, upon the Christian side, was defective; he knew "only the baptism of John," by which is indicated

¹ Cf. Lightfoot's essay, *The Churches of Macedonia*, referred to above.

the distinction which John himself draws in Luke 3 16. The baptism "in the Holy Spirit" was the crowning-point to a faith in Jesus and an appreciation of His person and work such as John himself did not possess—for the fulness of his own message concerning Jesus he did not understand. And so it may well have been with others who, directly or indirectly, had come under his influence; they were brought up to the threshold of the kingdom, but then they needed an Aquila to expound the way of God to them in its completeness. What was true of Apollos seems to have been true of the disciples whom Paul found at Ephesus. The interpretation of ch. 19 2 is much disputed and lies outside our province here; whatever interpretation be accepted, we have clearly a reference to the partial and preparatory work of John, completed by the apostles of the risen Lord. On leaving Aquila and Priscilla, Apollos went to Corinth with letters of recommendation from the brethren, and with such success did he preach that we find his name used as a party watch-word (1 Cor. 3). It is not unreasonable to suppose that his Alexandrian training gave to his message an academic flavour which commended itself to the taste of some, as compared with the plainness of Paul's preaching (1 Cor. 2 4);

but although their methods were different, there seems to have been no rivalry on their part, whatever there may have been amongst their adherents, and the unwillingness of Apollos to return to Corinth at a later period (1 Cor. 16 12) was probably due to his fear of fostering party feeling and divisions.

iii. (a) **Paul at Ephesus** (19 1-41).—Concerning Paul's life in Ephesus as a whole we learn that for three months he made the Jewish synagogue the basis of his operations (ch. 19 8); he then abandoned that method, finding the Jews "hardened and disobedient," and adopted the Grecian habit of teaching by disputation, "and this continued for the space of two years" (ver. 10); during this period, and for a period afterwards, he seems to have evangelised the district round Ephesus (vers. 10. 22), a district full of important and prosperous cities. It is probable that the Epistle to the Ephesians which we possess was sent as a circular letter to these churches founded by Paul or his associates in the vicinity of Ephesus. The Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. omit the words "in Ephesus" in Eph. 1 1, and the absence of any words of familiarity or reminiscence is contrary to his usual manner in writing to his converts; this absence is peculiarly inexplicable when we

consider the affection with which he regarded his Ephesian friends, as shown by the parting scene at Miletus, but everything is made plain if we regard the letter as sent to Ephesus only as one out of many churches amongst which it was to circulate. That it was Paul's habit to send circular letters is made perfectly clear by Col. 4 16, and it is not impossible that the "Epistle from Laodicea" is that which we know as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

(b) It was inevitable that Paul should come into conflict speedily with some of the many types of the false wonder-workers who infested Ephesus (19 11-20). Beyond all other nationalities the Jews had the most unenviable reputation for dabbling in these impostures. According to Josephus, "God gave Solomon skill against demons for the help and cure of men. And he arranged certain incantations whereby diseases are assuaged, and left behind him forms of exorcism, wherewith they so put to flight the overpowered evil spirits that they never return. And this method of curing is very prevalent among us up to the present time."¹ These combinations of letters with signs for the most part copied from the inscription on the figure of Artemis, which were supposed to act as charms

¹ *Ant.* viii. 2. 3.

against evil spirits, were known as *Ephesia grammata*, and were carried about as amulets. When, therefore, these exorcists beheld Paul working wonders by the use of the name of Jesus, they regarded this as a charm similar to their own, but undeniably more potent. In one case this belief was carried into action by exorcists who thought only of the *name*, and knew nothing of the great Reality behind the name, and they suffered for their presumption. The victory of the true wonder-workers over the false was complete, and the latter not only had the honesty and candour to confess their discomfiture, but they supported their confession by the surrender of their charms and other writings associated with their art—an enormous pecuniary sacrifice.

(c) A yet more powerful vested interest encountered by Paul was that which was connected with the worship of Anaïtis, the Asiatic goddess of fruitfulness (19²³⁻⁴¹), whom the Greeks named Artemis, or Diana, though she was in no sense the counterpart of the sister of Apollo. Her temple at Ephesus was one of the wonders of the world, its dimensions being, according to Pliny, 425 feet long by 220 broad by 60 high, and on this account the city was styled the "temple-keeper" (*neōkoros*) of Ar-

temis (ver. 35), a designation in the use of which Luke is supported by numerous inscriptions and coins. The coins upon which appear representations of the goddess show signs of the occasional confusion between the Greek and the Asiatic Artemis, for on some appears the bow and quiver which always characterises the huntress queen,—the Grecian Artemis,—but on the whole the representations are Oriental in character, since they depict a female figure with many breasts, a symbol of the productiveness of nature. The idol which was the central object of adoration and from which the representations on the coins were taken was universally believed to have fallen from heaven, and it is not unlikely that was an aërolite roughly cut into some resemblance to a figure and covered with mystical signs. In Ephesus a whole month was devoted to the festival of this goddess which was known as the Artemision, corresponding roughly to our month of May, and during this time especially a great trade was done in images of the goddess in silver, bronze, or terra-cotta. It was this which led to the riot. Demetrius, who was the spokesman of the workers engaged in the making of images, realised that the preaching of Paul was a very immediate danger to them, since the doctrine that “they be no

gods which are made with hands" (19 26) was calculated to bring their trade into disrepute, as well as to depose the goddess from her magnificence. That Demetrius was not indulging in a rhetorical exaggeration when he claimed the whole world as worshippers of Artemis is shown by the discovery of her cult as far west as Spain and Marseilles, and Pausanias states that the Ephesian Artemis was more honoured privately than any other deity. At such a religious carnival feeling was bound to run high, and there are records of riots at similar carnivals at Smyrna in A.D. 155 and Lyons in A.D. 177, in the former of which Polycarp was put to death. The scene which followed is suggestive of the scene on Mount Carmel. Those who from interest or principle were the devotees of the goddess express their devotion by deafening shouts, imploring it to assert its power and dignity,—and save an imperilled industry,—and they receive no reply beyond the echo of their own voices. The danger of a general riot arising out of this boisterous act of devotion led the town-clerk to interfere, and he did so with great tact, pointing out that the worship of Diana was far too securely founded to be in danger from a few wandering Jews, and that it was undignified to make so much out of little; if they had a

real cause of complaint against these strangers let them bring it into court, but whatever they did they must abstain from riot, lest the Romans should call them to account. It is worthy of note that this scene was re-enacted in Ephesus about four hundred years later under very different conditions, for the General Council held there in A.D. 431 occupied itself for many hours shouting "Anathema to Nestorius!"

(d) This narrative supplies us with three examples of Luke's accurate use of titles:— (1) "Asiarchs" (ver. 31), (2) "town-clerk" (ver. 35), (3) "proconsuls" (ver. 38), as well as "temple-keeper" (ver. 35), to which reference has already been made.

(1) The word Asiarch is one which is often found in the contemporary literature. It was the policy of the Roman Government to group the towns of a district together for certain religious and civil purposes, and these groups were styled *Commune Bithyniæ, Asiæ, Pamphyliae*, as the case might be, their presiding officer being styled Bithyniarch, Asiarch, Pamphyliarch, etc. Asia being so much more important than the other provinces, we hear more about the Asiarchs than about the corresponding rulers in other provinces, but they did not differ in kind. Two important functions belonged to the office.

When the cult of the Emperor was established—and proconsular Asia was one of the first provinces (B.C. 19) to adopt these rites—the chief priest of each city looked after this branch of public worship under the superintendence of the “chief priest of the *Commune Asiæ*,” who was also known as the Asiarch. Further, it was the duty of the Asiarch to preside at the festivals and games held under the auspices of the *Commune*, and superintendence usually involved bearing the expense. The use of the plural here may be explained on the supposition that those who had held the office formed a kind of order, or, at anyrate, retained certain priority by courtesy for the future, just as those do who have been President of the Wesleyan Conference. The festivals were usually quinquennial, and it is very likely that the tenure of the Asiarchate was the same. The mention of the Asiarchs here would suggest that the events of ch. 19 happened at the festival season.¹

(2) The *grammateus*, or town-clerk, was the keeper of the records, but he was something more. The “*grammateus* of the people,” to distinguish him from other officials bearing the same title,

¹ Cf. Lightfoot's *Ignatius and Polycarp*, vol. ii. p. 987 *sqq.* Excursus, “On the Asiarchate.”

was one of the most important men in Ephesus. "As the real vigour of the *ecclesia* declined in the atmosphere of Imperial rule, while at the same time the forms of the free republic were retained, it was more and more left to the *grammateus* to arrange the business of the public assembly. . . . It is therefore one example the more of Luke's accuracy in speaking of titles when in Acts 19 *ss sqq.* he describes the *grammateus* as possessed of influence with the assembly, and keenly sensible of his own responsibility."¹

(3) The use of the word "proconsuls" might be explained in the same sense as we might say that "Russia is governed by Tsars," *i.e.* a succession of rulers with the same title, one at a time. But, accurate as this would be, there is another explanation of the plural, for the late proconsul Silanus had been murdered by his two subordinates, who had been rewarded by the grateful Nero—for Silanus was a possible candidate for the Imperial crown—with the office held by the murdered man.

iv. **Paul's Address to the Ephesian Elders at Miletus.**—Of the details of the later portion of this tour we know nothing except that he stayed three months in Greece, that his plan

¹ E. L. Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, p. 82.

was altered owing to a plot which forced him to return through Macedonia, that at Troas he raised Eutychus, and that at Miletus he met the elders of Ephesus. It was probably his intention to sail in a ship from Corinth direct to Cæsarea with other pilgrims going up for the Passover, but the plot delayed him, and he had to aim at the Feast of Pentecost instead (ver. 16). This haste explains why he sent for the elders of Ephesus to Miletus. Ephesus lay near the coast, but Paul knew well that if he allowed himself to visit Ephesus in person he would find it impossible to accomplish his purpose of reaching Jerusalem for the feast. The address (20 18-35) is in part a dignified *Apologia pro vita sua*, resembling that of Samuel (1 Sam. 12), in part an exhortation and warning concerning the future. He calls upon them to bear in mind his manner of life and teaching, that they may be strong to resist the false teachers whose presence perhaps he already detected. The epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev. 2, 3) show that even at that early date in the history of the Church the doctrine of the Nicolaitans was very prevalent in that part of the country, a doctrine which, like that of Balaam, was calculated to lower the barrier between the Christian disciples and their heathen neighbours,

and which was fatally likely to spread in cities so much given over to luxury. Indeed, the foundation of Christian churches in those cities of proconsular Asia is a standing miracle, in face of the difficulties arrayed against them, and Paul knew well that in such surroundings simplicity and unselfishness of life could alone save his converts from falling back into their old manner of life. Concerning his own fate Paul seems to have been in no doubt. What form it would take he did not know, but throughout the course of this return journey he was conscious of Divine intimations concerning bonds and afflictions, and when he landed he was met with the same warnings. But nothing deterred him: in the face of it all he went on "ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus."

CHAPTER VIII

PAUL IN JERUSALEM

i. Judaisers once more.

- (a) James, "the brother of the Lord": one of the bulwarks of the more conservative party in the Church. He was not hostile to Paul and his work, but for the sake of peace he wished him to fall in with Jewish custom where he could.
- (b) The vow: how far Paul was identified with these men, beyond paying their charges, we cannot tell. Possibly he simply performed the final acts of the Nazirite vow, which took only about seven days, whereas the whole period was about thirty or forty.
- (c) The riot: based on the *supposition* that Paul had brought Trophimus into the temple. The chief captain identified him in his own mind with one of the leaders of the Sicarii; but finding him a quiet, educated man, allowed him to address the people.

ii. Paul before the people.

- (a) His defence: a relation of the facts of his conversion, corresponding in main outline with the narrative in ch. 9, but adding the incident of the trance.

- (b) The chief captain is again in perplexity as to why this quiet man should evoke such an outcry : he determines to find out the reason by torture, but learns that his prisoner is a Roman.
- iii. Paul before the Sanhedrin.
 - (a) The insult of *Ananias* may have taken place at the beginning of Paul's speech, but need not have done so, for ver. 1 may not be the commencement of the speech, but only the sentence to which exception was taken. Various explanations are given of Paul's not recognising the high-priest.
 - (b) Here, as often, he claimed the Pharisees as his natural allies against the unbelieving materialistic Sadducees.
- iv. Paul before the Romans.
 - (a) The plot against his life caused him to be sent down to Cæsarea under escort. Who Paul's nephew was we do not know.
 - (b) Felix : a specimen of the worst type of Roman provincial official. Brother of Pallas, to whom he owed his position.
 - (c) Festus : probably superior to Felix, both as man and governor. Paul's appeal to Rome is an appeal to be tried by pure Roman law.
- v. Paul before Agrippa.
 - (a) Herod Agrippa II. the last of the family : thoroughly Gentile in his sympathies, and sided with Rome against the Jews in the war.
 - (b) The main difference between this narrative and that of ch. 22 is the total omission of reference to *Ananias*.
 - (c) Agrippa and Festus agree that if Paul had not appealed he might have been released.

PAUL IN JERUSALEM

i. **Judaisers once more** (21¹⁷⁻²⁵).—(a) From Luke's narrative we may infer that, with the exception of James, the apostles were absent, for their presence would not have been ignored. The mention of James must not lead us into the threefold discussion concerning (1) his identity with James the son of Alphæus, (2) the meaning of the phrase "brother of the Lord," (3) the authorship of the Epistle of James. For the purposes of this manual it will be sufficient to state that the accepted opinion now is that the James of Acts 12¹⁷ 15¹³ 21¹⁸ was the Lord's brother and the writer of the Epistle, but was not the same as James the son of Alphæus, concerning whom we know absolutely nothing. With reference to the second point referred to above, opinion is divided as to whether "brother" should be construed literally, or as equivalent to "half-brother," in which case James, Jude, Simon, and Joses would be the sons of Joseph by a former marriage. During the lifetime of Jesus we are told that the brethren of Jesus did not believe in Him (John 7⁵); but "that phrase

need not mean more than that they did not sacrifice to absolute trust in Him all the fancies and prejudices which they cherished as to Messiah's office."¹ In this they were not so far behind the rest of the apostles, for they all had much to learn on that, as on other points, and it is not unreasonable to infer that it was to strengthen the belief of His half-convinced kinsman, in view of his important duties as head of the church at Jerusalem, that Jesus appeared to him individually (1 Cor. 15 6). It is not necessary to accept unreservedly the numerous traditions handed down by the Fathers concerning James, but they probably rest upon fact in their testimony to the respect in which James was held, not only among the Christian disciples, but among the Jews as well, on which account he was known as "the Just." This agrees well with what Luke tells us, and what we infer from Paul's Epistles. While accepting the Divinity and Messiahship of Jesus, James remained to the last firm in his devotion to Jewish law and custom, and this made it possible for him to act as a mediator, and even as a Christian advocate, under circumstances where one of more progressive opinions would only have provoked hostility. It is impossible to escape from the sense of

¹ Bishop Westcott, *Speaker's Commentary*, *in loco*.

anxiety, and even regret, which pervades the utterances and actions of James with reference to the work of Paul. He accepts it because God had so unmistakably set His seal upon it, but he accepts it with a certain feeling of regret because of its encroachments upon legal Judaism. The words and actions of such an one might well be misconstrued and perverted after the fashion referred to in ch. 15 ²⁴ and Gal. 2 ¹², without any shade of duplicity on his part or any retreat from the position taken up by him at the Council.

(b) It is as a mediator that he appears here. Although it was now out of the question to attempt to allay the hostility of the Jews, it was distinctly to the interests of the Christian Church that there should be as little division between its Jewish and Gentile sections as was compatible with their difference of standpoint. For this reason James and those who were with him suggested that Paul should perform a typical act of temple ritual, in order that thereby he might silence the malicious slanders of those who had gone about "assiduously instructing"—for the word is that from which we derive our "catechise" (21 ²¹), and indicates very much more than the spreading of a rumour—those whom they could influence to the effect that Paul was accustomed

to teach the Jews of the Dispersion to forsake Moses and the customs of their forefathers. The falseness of the accusation needs no exposition here. What was said above¹ with reference to the Council of Jerusalem and the circumcision of Timothy should be a sufficient answer. In making this suggestion James showed wisdom, although his plan sadly miscarried; in accepting it Paul showed his conciliatory spirit, and his willingness to respect the convictions of others.² What Paul's share in this matter was it is hard to determine. The reference is undoubtedly to the Nazirite vow, but the words in chs. 21²⁴⁻²⁶ and 24¹⁸ seem to imply that he had some share in the rites beyond the mere participation in the expense, and yet the time which elapsed was too short for him to take and complete a vow on his own account. Dr. Hort suggests that the Gentile contributions were "probably presented at the meeting with James, and then and there gratefully accepted. On such an occasion it may well be that St. Paul proposed to celebrate this happy event by a solemn peace-offering in the temple."³ Whether this be so or not, Paul identified himself with these men in the final acts of their vow, which

¹ Chs. iv. and v.² See above, p. 119.³ *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 109.

acts covered about seven days, and paid their charges ; this, according to Josephus, was a recognised method of showing piety on the part of the rich, especially when, like Agrippa who paid the charges for a large number of Nazirites, they had a disinclination towards more personal piety. Where Paul obtained his resources at this time and during his journey to Rome we have no means of ascertaining. His trade might provide him with the necessaries of life, but not much more, and the fact of Felix expecting a bribe from him, together with the expense of his imprisonment, if it was to be made in any way bearable, suggests that Paul had command of money from some source or other.

(c) This act of conciliation which James devised, instead of averting a scene, precipitated one. The season of Paul's visit was that of Pentecost, and among the visitors who thronged the city were Jews "from Asia" (21 27-40), probably from Ephesus, who recognised Paul and Trophimus, who was an Ephesian, in the city, and surmised that because they were together in the city therefore Paul had brought his friend into the temple with him. It was only a surmise, but it served their purpose. For a Gentile to pass the wall dividing the court of the Gentiles from the court of the Jews was

an offence punishable by death, even under Roman rule, and this assumed act of defilement gave them the pretext they desired for a great popular outcry against the apostle. The readiness with which the cry was taken up shows that James was not beyond the mark when he spoke of the misrepresentation of Paul's work in which his enemies had indulged: to those whose minds had been thus poisoned this alleged insult appeared as not only probable, but as part of a deliberate plan. The Levites shut the gates lest the precincts should be defiled, and the riot became so general that the captain of the band of Roman soldiers quartered in the tower of Antonia, to the north-west of the temple, came down and arrested Paul, under the impression that one over whom the people raised so great a riot must be some notable criminal. He immediately identifies him in his own mind with one of the most dangerous of all the impostors of the time (21 ss), who proclaimed himself as a prophet, and marched nearly thirty thousand men to the Mount of Olives, by promising them that at his word the walls of Jerusalem would fall. The Romans dispersed his followers, but he himself escaped. This Roman officer not unnaturally linked this Egyptian with the Sicarii who were the terror of Judæa during the later years of

the Jewish State, and with whom the Egyptian almost certainly allied himself on the dispersion of his own followers. Of these Josephus says: "But when the country was thus cleared there sprang up another kind of plunderers in Jerusalem called Sicarii. They kill men by daylight in the midst of the city. Particularly at the feasts they mix with the crowd, carrying small daggers hid under their clothes. With these they wound their adversaries, and when they have fallen the murderers mix with the crowd and join in the outcry against the crime. Thus they passed unsuspected for a long time. One of their earliest victims was Jonathan the high-priest."¹ Finding that his prisoner was no brigand leader, but a quiet, educated citizen of an important city, he gave him permission to address the people.

ii. **Paul before the People** (22 1-21).—(a) Paul's defence takes the form of a narration of the circumstances through which the manner of his life became changed. He prefaces that narration with a brief reference to his Jewish descent and training in order that thereby might be emphasised the magnitude of the cause which could make him thus turn his back upon his former self. In all main characteristics the two accounts

¹ *B. J.* ii. 13. 3, 5.

in chs. 9 and 22 agree, but they naturally differ in form, one being the narrative of an outsider, the other the personal experience of the chief actor; it is therefore natural that, for instance, the commission of Ananias should be given with less detail in the personal account. The trance, with its Divine message, is not mentioned elsewhere, but probably belongs to the visit of ch. 9 ²⁶⁻²⁸, after the period of retirement in Arabia (Gal. 1 17); Professor Ramsay, however, identifies it with the visit of ch. 11 ³⁰.

(b) The mention of the extension of God's grace to the Gentiles at once raised such an outcry that the chief captain withdrew him into the tower that by means of torture he might find out how it was that Paul had twice roused the Jewish mob to fury. The utter perplexity of this Roman officer in face of Jewish religious problems is almost ludicrous (22 ²²⁻³⁰). He had already been forced to abandon one hasty assumption concerning his prisoner, and now he finds the mob again raging, in consequence of a speech the drift of which he, of course, did not understand, since it was in Aramaic. Thinking that torture might elicit an explanation of the fury of the mob against Paul—an explanation which a word from Paul could have given—he prepared

to inflict it, when he found that his prisoner was not only a Roman citizen, but possessed a better claim to those privileges than he did himself.

iii. **Paul before the Sanhedrin** (23 1-11).—Finding scourging to be out of the question, and yet desiring to fathom what was to him a mystery, Lysias brought Paul before the Sanhedrin, having come to the conclusion that such fury could only be raised upon a religious issue. (a) We are not in a position to say whether Ananias insulted Paul at the opening of his speech, or whether ch. 23 1 only represents the utterance to which exception was taken (ver. 3). Paul's answer to the high-priest's insult was strangely prophetic, especially according to the literal translation of the Greek—"God is about to smite thee"; for in A.D. 66 Ananias was murdered, as being a leader of the Roman party in Jerusalem (*Jos. B. J.* ii. 17. 9). The meaning of Paul's excuse for himself in ver. 5 lies probably in the fact that either from deficient eyesight or from long absence from Jerusalem he failed to recognise Ananias as high-priest. Calvin's suggestion that the words are ironical is clever but somewhat strained.

(b) (Ver. 7) In taking advantage of the divisions in the Sanhedrin, Paul was not by

any means guilty of a disingenuous action. He rightly regarded the doctrine of the resurrection as the central truth of his gospel, and for that reason he felt that the Pharisees *ought* not to be his enemies, and perhaps thought that they *would* not be so if they understood his position better: with the Sadducees, on the other hand, by reason of the central fact of their belief, he could not but be in constant conflict.

iv. **Paul before the Romans.**—(a) The plot formed by certain of the Jews at this point to murder Paul was revealed to Lysias by Paul's sister's son,—the solitary reference which we possess to any member of his family (23¹²⁻²⁵). It is idle to speculate who he was or how he obtained his information; such a plot would not be likely to be a subject of rumour beforehand, so we may assume that the information came from some man of the Gamaliel type on the Council, favourably disposed to Paul, averse to acts of violence, and especially glad to thwart them when contrived by the Sadducees. However that may be, Lysias accepted the warning, and sent Paul under strong escort to Cæsarea, the seat of Roman government and the residence of the procurator. In the letter which he sent with his prisoner

he represents that he had rescued Paul because he knew him to be a Roman, a fact which in reality he only learnt when he was just about to scourge him.

(b) (24 1-27) In the person of Felix, Paul encountered Roman administration at its worst. He had been a slave, but benefited by the rise to power of his brother Pallas, who possessed great influence with Claudius. He, however, according to Tacitus, "had the soul of a slave with the power of a sovereign, and he exercised his power in all manner of cruelty and lust . . . Relying on the influence of his brother, Felix counted on impunity for any misdeeds he might commit. His remedial measures were such as to stimulate crime."¹ Josephus gives a no more favourable picture. He induced Drusilla to leave her husband Aziz and to live with him; he procured the assassination of the ex-high priest Jonathan, being weary of his admonitions, and he was only saved from punishment under Nero by the influence of his brother.² He therefore can hardly be said to deserve the eulogies which Tertullus showers upon him (24 2. 3), but such a *captatio benevolentiae* is common to oratory of all ages, and deceives no one. Felix possessed a sufficiently accurate knowledge of

¹ *Hist.* v. 9; *Ann.* xii. 54.

² *Ant.* xx. 7. 8.

the relations between Christianity and Judaism to enable him to form a correct estimate of Paul's actions, but he had not the courage of his opinions: he kept him in mild captivity, nominally till Lysias should come down, really in the hope that Paul might make it worth his while to release him. But his many communings with him brought no bribe, but instead heart-searching discourses on "righteousness, self-control, and the judgment to come," which might well cause terror to such a libertine.

(c) (25 1-27) Of Festus, who succeeded Felix, we do not know much, either favourable or otherwise, but both from Luke and Josephus we should infer his superiority to Felix, both as a man and as a governor. His suggestion in ver. 9 that Paul should come up to Jerusalem to be judged was probably made in perfectly good faith, for he would naturally know nothing of the new plot against Paul's life, which was the reason for the requested change of venue. Paul knew it, or suspected it, and claimed his right to be tried before a Roman and not a Jewish court. The failure of the accusations against him (ver. 7) showed that the Jews had no valid case against him, and any offence against public order was for a Roman court to deal with: if, therefore, Festus refused to try him

he would claim to be tried by pure Roman law, which, as a Roman citizen, he was entitled to do. This was not a typical appeal from a provincial magistrate to the supreme court of appeal, for no decision had been given, but a claim to be free from the mixed jurisdiction of the courts of Judæa. But Festus had no materials from which to state a case for the Imperial court, and he therefore gladly assented to Agrippa's request that Paul should be brought before him: the scene in chs. 25²³⁻²⁶, however, does not form part of a judicial process.

v. Paul before Agrippa.—(a) Herod Agrippa II.¹ is the last of a dynasty which “had begun in blood and terror and ended in rottenness and putrefaction.” When his father died in A.D. 44 he was too young to succeed him, but in A.D. 50 he received his uncle's kingdom of Chalcis and in A.D. 52 the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king. In character he was little better than those who went before him. Although conversant with Jewish law and custom his sympathies were thoroughly Gentile, and when the war broke out he sided with the Romans: on the fall of the city he withdrew to Rome, where he died in A.D. 100. This proof of his lack of patriotism gives added

¹ See Genealogical Table of the Herods, p. 214.

meaning to vers. 27 and 28, for in him Paul's impassioned appeal would find no echo.

(b) On this occasion again Paul's defence takes the form of a narration of the circumstances which led to his change of life. As in his address to the people in ch. 22, he commences with a reference to his Jewish training and consequent Jewish bias, and then in very much the same form as before he describes the scene on the road to Damascus (26 1-23). The most noticeable variation between this account and those in chs. 9 and 22 is the total omission of any reference to Ananias in this address before Agrippa. But there is nothing strange in the fact, for to Paul, looking back upon this great turning-point of his life, the message would be everything, and the manner of its communication a thing of utter indifference. The significance of the words "it is hard for thee to kick against the goads" has already been dealt with.¹

(c) The opinion of Agrippa from the Jewish standpoint coincided with that of Festus—and we may perhaps add Felix also; from the Roman, that Paul had done nothing worthy of death or of bonds. These judgments, when placed side by side with the equally explicit

¹ P. 83.

declaration of Pilate concerning Jesus (Luke 23 14-15), and with the action of Gallio towards Paul (Acts 18 14-15), afford a very clear indication of the attitude of the Roman Government towards the Christians at this stage. As shown above¹ there were elements in the Christian teaching which were bound, sooner or later, to arouse the furious hatred of the Government, not on any just grounds, but from the inability or unwillingness of Roman rulers to understand the ideas of other nations. But this period of persecution, though near at hand, had not yet begun, and in Acts the attitude of the Roman officials towards the Christians is for the most part one of contemptuous justice. There is no reason to believe that Paul's words made any impression upon Agrippa. The words in ver. 28 are not earnest, as suggested by the A.V., but contemptuous, as shown by the R.V.: the reference is to the brief final appeal in vers. 26, 27, as though Paul were claiming him as a possible disciple.

¹ P. 14 *sqq.*

Yea thro' life, death, thro' sorrow and thro' sinning
He shall suffice me, for He hath sufficed:
Christ is the end, for Christ was the beginning,
Christ the beginning, for the end is Christ.

F. W. H. MYERS, *St. Paul.*

CHAPTER IX

THE VOYAGE TO ROME

- i. Cæsarea to Myra.
 - (a) "Augustan band" probably denotes an auxiliary cohort under command of one of the officers known as *frumentarii*.
 - (b) Owing to the prevalence of westerly winds they were forced to sail to the east of Cyprus, and work up along the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia.
- ii. Myra to Fair Havens.
 - (a) Myra was often visited by the Alexandrian corn-ships, since the straight route to Italy would be dangerous in a north wind because of the Syrtis.
 - (b) On reaching Fair Havens, on the lee-side of Crete, Paul advised wintering there, but it was decided to make for Phoenix, the exact position of which it is hard to comprehend from Luke's description.
- iii. Crete to Melita.
 - (a) Shortly after leaving Fair Havens they were caught by the E.N.E. wind blowing down from Mount Ida, and lost control of the ship. On the fifteenth day they were cast upon Melita.

(b) As to whether it was Meleda in the Gulf of Venice or Malta in the Mediterranean, depends mainly upon the meaning of *Adria* (ver. 27). The word is used by contemporary writers to denote both the gulf and the sea between Sicily and Greece.

iv. *Melita to Rome.*

An uneventful journey commenced as soon as navigation began to be safe. In Rome Paul enjoyed a fair degree of freedom, although chained to a soldier.

THE VOYAGE TO ROME

The Voyage.—The best authority for the elucidation of these difficult chapters is—and probably always will be—Mr. James Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*. Mr. Smith was one of the earliest members of the Royal Yacht Club, now the Royal Yacht Squadron, and during a residence at Malta which covered most of 1844–45, he explored minutely the whole of the course which Luke represents Paul to have taken, bringing to bear upon the question a rare amount of knowledge of nautical matters, both practical and historical, whereby it is possible for us to trace clearly most of the course taken by this ill-fated ship. Mr. James Smith's account has been verified at a more recent date by Professor Ramsay, who also examined the details on the spot, making no small contributions from his own store of classical learning.¹ These two authorities will form the basis of what is contained in this chapter, but it may be stated once and for all that Mr. Smith's work should be read first-hand by all who wish to understand the details of

¹ *Op. cit.* chs. 14, 15.

Luke's narrative, for no quotations can do justice to the records of his investigations, which are as interesting as they are learned. Mr. Smith very strongly held the generally accepted view that the shipwreck took place at Malta and not on an island in the Adriatic off the coast of Dalmatia. One of the greatest of the New Testament scholars of our own day, quite recently deceased, gave it as his opinion that the evidence against the Malta theory deserves much more consideration than is generally supposed, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find that the editor of the fourth edition (1880) of Mr Smith's work, admitting that the author "perhaps failed fully to appreciate the weight of authority which exists against his view with respect to the application of the word *Adria*,"¹ devotes several pages of an appendix to the subject. We shall, for the purposes of this manual, assume the Malta theory for the present, taking up the arguments on either side in a section by themselves.

i. **Cæsarea to Myra** (27 1-5).—(a) In considering this voyage it must constantly be remembered that Paul and his companions did not set sail until late in the summer. This rendered it the more improbable that they would find at Cæsarea a ship bound direct for Rome, and they conse-

¹ P. 17.

quently went on board a coasting vessel bound for the cities of Asia Minor, in the hope of there finding a ship for Rome. The phrase "Augustan band" is not easy to understand, for the cohorts of the legions bore no surnames, while the many auxiliary cohorts, which did bear surnames, were commanded by the officer of a legion, not an auxiliary officer. Professor Ramsay, following Mommsen, regards this officer as one of the "legionary centurions on detached service for communication between the Emperor and his armies in the provinces. . . . They acted not only for commissariat purposes (whence the name *frumentarii*), but as couriers, and for police purposes and for conducting prisoners; and in time they became detested as agents and spies of the Government. They all belonged to legions stationed in the provinces, and were considered to be on detached duty when they went to Rome; and hence in Rome they were 'soldiers from abroad,' *peregrini*. While in Rome they resided in a camp on the Cælian Hill, called the *Castra Peregrinorum*; in this camp there were always a number of them present, changing from day to day, as some came and others went away."¹ In this connection it is important to notice the reading in ch. 28 16. The words in the margin of the R.V. are included in the Textus Receptus, but

¹ Pp. 315 and 348.

are not found in the best MSS. ; they, nevertheless, like so many passages which have not good MSS. authority, probably express accurately a historic fact, and Professor Ramsay identifies the *Stratopedarch* of that passage with the *princeps peregrinorum*, on the ground that the functions of that official would naturally embrace such an one as receiving these prisoners, while the prefect of the prætorian guard (R.V. marg.) was too important a person to be troubled with them. On the other side, Mr. Page quotes a passage in one of Trajan's letters to Pliny, commanding that a certain prisoner should be sent bound to the "prefects of my prætorium."¹ The phrase "fellow-prisoner" in Col. 4 10 concerning Aristarchus, when viewed in the light of Roman usage, suggests that Aristarchus, well aware that in no other way could he accompany Paul, came as his slave. Luke is mentioned differently, and we can well understand that his position as a physician would open doors to him which would be shut to others.

(b) One of the cardinal facts to be borne in mind in connection with the voyage is the prevalence, especially during the later months of summer, of westerly or north-westerly winds in this portion of the Mediterranean, a fact noted

¹ *Ep.* x. 58.

by writers of all periods. Consequently, although the direct route would have been to the south of Cyprus—the route taken by Paul the reverse way on returning from his second journey—the force of the wind was such as to render it necessary to put the island between the ship and the wind, *i.e.* to sail to the east of Cyprus, and beat up along the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia. According to a reading which Westcott and Hort place in the margin as having “a reasonable probability of being the true reading,” they were thus beating up along the coast for fifteen days.

ii. **Myra to Fair Havens.**—(a) The centurion had good ground for his surmise that he would find a ship bound for Italy before they reached Adramyttium. Myra, although due north of Alexandria, lay on the usual route from thence to Rome, and the mention of wheat as the cargo (ver. 38) makes it most probable that the vessel upon which they now embarked was one of the regular fleet which supplied the city of Rome itself with food (27⁶⁻¹²). The ships of the ancients being incapable of being sailed as close to the wind as modern ships, would never attempt the direct course from Alexandria to Italy at a time of year when north-westerly or westerly winds were prevalent, for there was always the danger of being cast upon the quicksands on the northern coast of

Africa (ver. 17). From Myra to Cnidus, about 130 miles, in spite of the assistance of the slight wind which blows off that shore, they crawled (ver. 7), and after that point they were again in the open, and their only course was to make for Cape Salmone on the east of Crete, and work from there to Cape Matala under the shelter of the island. (b) As the coast, after passing Cape Matala, bends northwards, Paul advised wintering at the "place called Fair Havens," which is the last roadstead east of the Cape, and has been identified, together with its neighbouring town Lasea.¹ The ground upon which Paul based his advice was that the Fast, *i.e.* the Great Day of Atonement, was now already gone by, and as that fell in A.D. 59 on the 5th of October, we have there a positive date to work upon. With the ancients the period between the middle of September and the middle of November was reckoned as dangerous for navigation, and after that all navigation of the open sea was suspended until February. Paul's advice was rejected, and it may be noted in passing that the fact of the centurion, and not the captain, determining this question of policy, points to the ship being under Government commission. Considering Fair Havens to be "not commodious to winter in,"

¹ Smith, p. 82, note 4th ed.

they decided to push on to Phoenix, "a haven . . . looking north-east and south-east" (R.V.) The description is at best an awkward one. The A.V. gave it "lieth N.W. and S.W.," but no one in his senses would have chosen a harbour with such an aspect for winter quarters, considering the danger from westerly gales, and the literal translation of the Greek is, as in R.V. (marg.), "down the south-west wind and down the north-west wind," which is quite consistent with what we should call a N.E. and S.E. aspect. Mr. Smith brings forward several examples of the preposition being used in exactly this sense, but it must be admitted that scholars differ very much upon the point.¹ It must be remembered that Luke never saw this harbour, and his description may be based upon a misunderstanding of what was said about it by the sailors. The modern harbour of Lutro quite meets the requirements of the case if the R.V. be right, for its two channels—separated by a small island—face N.E. and S.E. On the other side of the small promontory is the modern harbour of Phineka with a west aspect; it is not impossible that Luke heard some sailors talking about the one, and others about the other, one man viewing the harbour from the standpoint

¹ See the caustic note in Mr. T. E. Page's *Acts* (Greek), *in loco*.

of the ship which enters it, another from the standpoint of those on land and looking seawards. This would account for any degree of confusion, and the supposition is not an extravagant one.

iii. **Crete to Melita.**—(a) For a time the wind blew softly from the south, and they thought they were going to obtain their purpose. Before they had gone far, however, the weather changed, and one of the hurricanes common off that coast burst upon them from the E.N.E.—so completely do winds change in those seas during a short space of time—while they were in the midst of the bay to the west of Cape Matala (27 13-24). The exact name of the wind was for long a matter of dispute, but Euraquilo is very generally accepted now, and, whatever the name may be, the direction is clear enough, for they “feared lest they should be cast upon the Syrtis,” which was just where an E.N.E. gale would bear them. Mr. Smith quotes in a note the experience of a naval officer with whom he was intimately acquainted, which well illustrates what Luke here narrates. “In respect to the gale of wind I met with after starting from Fair Havens for Messara Bay, we left with a light southerly wind and clear sky—every indication of a fine day, until we rounded the Cape (Matala), to haul

up for the head of the bay. Then we saw Mount Ida covered in a dense cloud, and met a strong northerly breeze—one of the summer gales so frequent in the Levant, but which in general are accompanied by terrific gusts from those high mountains, the wind blowing direct from Mount Ida.”¹ The epithet “typhonic” is quite in accordance with Greek and Roman usage, Pliny, for instance, speaking of the typhoon as “the chief pest of seamen, destructive not only to the spars but to the hull itself.”² Running before the wind they reached the island of Cauda, and under the lee of it they were able to take in the boat. Two other operations were also performed during this short period of comparative calm. In the first place, “they used helps, undergirding the ship,” by which is denoted the process known as “frapping,” *i.e.* passing several lengths of cable round the hull. Although this means of preventing the timbers from starting is naturally not adopted in these days, Mr. Smith quotes several cases from the early part of this century, and it will easily be realised that when the whole strain of the wind came upon one mast, instead of two or three, such a device might be especially serviceable. They also “lowered the gear”: this must refer to top-

¹ P. 100.² N.H. ii. 48.

gear, for had they struck all sail they would have deprived themselves of the only means by which they could avoid the dreaded Syrtis, for their rudder seems to have been useless under the force of the storm. They then began to lighten the ship by throwing overboard what they could, but lost all hope of being saved (ver. 20), probably owing to the increased leakage. Paul alone keeps heart, and strives to breathe into his companions his own confidence. At last, on the fourteenth night after leaving Fair Havens, they surmised, from the sound of breakers, and from the soundings which followed, that they were approaching land. The sailors tried to escape by the boat, but Paul's vigilance frustrated their plan; four anchors were let go from the stern, and on the morrow they made their way through the breakers to a beach where they ran the ship aground, the bow remaining fixed while the stern broke up from the violence of the waves. The centurion, whose kindly feeling towards Paul may well have deepened into intense reverence, refused to accede to the proposal of the soldiers that the prisoners should be slain, and all came safe to land.

(b) Where it was that they came to land it is necessary now to consider. The question hinges

entirely upon the meaning which we attach to *Adria* (ver. 27); if it denote the gulf which separated Italy from Illyricum, then the scene of the shipwreck must have been the island of *Meleda* in the Gulf of Venice; if, on the other hand, it denote the Adriatic, in the looser sense, *i.e.* *Mare Ionium*, then *Malta* must be the island. As this question depends primarily upon the evidence as to the use of *Adria* in the writers of the period, this must first occupy us, all "special pleading" on behalf of one or other of the islands being reserved till afterwards. 1. The name *Adrias* or *Adrias Kolpos* was taken from the town of *Adria* at the mouth of the *Po*, and undoubtedly denoted at first the Adriatic Gulf in its narrower sense, terminating about in a line with the *Iapygian* promontory. The testimony of the early geographers is unanimous upon that point.¹ But passages in the poets *Ovid*, *Horace*, and *Lucan* contain the word used in a wider sense, which leads us to infer that, however the geographers might define the right use of the term, there was current a use which did not coincide with this definition, and this is rendered a certainty by the fact that the next great geographer of the

¹ See quotations from *Strabo* and *Pliny the Elder* in App. vi. by Editor of fourth edition of *Smith's work*.

ancient world, Ptolemy, who wrote during the first half of the second century, distinguishes between the Adriatic Gulf (Adrias Kolpos) and Adriatic Sea (Adriatikon Pelagos) "which bounds Sicily to the east, washes Magna Græcia, bounds Epirus to the west from the Acroceraunian mountains to the river Achelous, Achaia to the south along the shore of the Corinthian Gulf from the river Achelous as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, bounds the Peloponnesus to the west and south and Crete to the west."¹ This unequivocal testimony from Ptolemy concerning the usage of his day is supported by the statement of his contemporary Pausanias to the effect that the Straits of Messina joined the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas. It is quite true that no writers of Luke's time specifically mention *Adria* as reaching so far south as Malta, though later writers extend it to the coasts of Africa, but upon the sea fifty or sixty miles do not count for much in marking the division between two bodies of water, and, as is shown above, popular usage in such matters always tends to go beyond scientific definition.

2. Having shown that the usage of Luke's contemporaries does not preclude the wider interpretation of *Adria* in this passage, we come

¹ *Ib.* p. 283.

to the specific claims of Malta to be the scene of the shipwreck, as compared with Meleda in the Gulf. (a) In the first place, considerations of time, distance, and general direction favour Malta. Two naval authorities consulted by Mr. Smith independently gave an average of a mile and a half per hour as the rate of drift for a large ship under circumstances such as are described by Luke. Now the distance from Cauda to the point of Koura on Malta is 476·6 miles, requiring thirteen days one hour and twenty-one minutes, at the rate above mentioned: with this estimate verses 18. 19. and 27 of ch. 27 exactly agree, for they give a fraction over thirteen days as the time spent between Cauda and Malta, assuming as we may do that the reckonings are from the time they left Fair Havens. From Cauda to Meleda, however, is upwards of nine hundred miles, and it would only be possible to drift in that direction if the wind changed from E.N.E. to E.S.E., as Dr. J. M. Neale assumes it did. But this is contrary to the experience of those who have studied the winds of the Mediterranean, and Captain Stewart, R.N., in his sailing directions, says of northerly winds there that they die away gradually, no mention being made of any change of quarter.

(β) The fact that the sailors discerned the nearness of land before they could sight it points to the existence of breakers upon a low-lying coast, for the "perfume" indication, so often referred to in connection with the islands of the South Seas, is impossible in this case, especially in such a storm. A parallel is afforded by the proceedings of a court-martial upon the loss of a British frigate upon this same point of Koura in 1810, in which proceedings the quartermaster gave evidence that he did not see the land, but "the curl of the sea" upon the rocks at a distance of about quarter of a mile.¹ In the case of Meleda it is almost incredible that the travellers should have gone so far, and, by inference, so crookedly, and yet have sighted no land, for at different stages in their voyage they would be within sight of the mountains of Cephalonia, which are visible eighty miles off, Corfu, Calabria, and Albania, and also of the great Acroceraunian range, and, lastly, of the mountains of Meleda itself. To any Mediterranean seaman these great landmarks would be in some degree recognisable, for we cannot believe that the storm barred all their observations of land and sky for the fourteen days, whereas the coast of Malta was

¹ Smith, p. 123.

too low to be easily distinguishable, and they went ashore several miles from the recognised harbour, Valetta.

(γ) In the last place, there is the argument based upon the inapplicability of the term "barbarians" to the Maltese, and the alleged absence of serpents in Malta. The answer to the first is that "barbaros" in the mouth of a Greek indicated not rude and uncivilised manners, but unintelligible speech, and thus embraced all who did not speak Latin or Greek. Hence the Phœnician settlers of Malta would be barbarians to the Greek Luke, in spite of the general culture of their race, and their "no common kindness" on this occasion. As to the absence of serpents on Malta,—and with it may be taken absence of any predisposition to fever and dysentery there,—these cannot be regarded as conclusive, especially as medical testimony is at variance upon the latter point. Undoubtedly the moisture of the climate of Meleda, arising from its dense woods, would be more congenial to serpents than the aridity of Malta as it is to-day, but the survivals of ancient trees in Malta suggest the existence of woods in a past age, and their disappearance—possibly arising out of the military use of the island—would be followed by the disappearance of

serpents. Dr. Farrar notes that the viper has disappeared from the island of Arran, though probably not from the same cause.¹ In conclusion, it may be mentioned that if Adria be the Gulf of Venice, then four ships, of which we know something, bound for the west of Italy from the Levant, found their way there about this time:—(1) Paul's ship; (2) the ship of Alexandria which took him off (ch. 28 11); (3) the ship in which Josephus was wrecked²; (4) the ship of Cyrene by which he was picked up and which brought him to Puteoli.

iv. **Melita to Rome.**—Of their three months' stay in the island we are told very little. They were received with kindness, and this deepened into awe and devotion as the islanders beheld the wonders wrought by Paul. Luke does full justice to the fresh simplicity of the country-folk, who one moment surmised that Paul must be a murderer, and then "changed their minds, and said that he was a god" (ch. 28 6). The use of the word "chief man" is another illustration of Luke's accuracy in the matter of titles; for although it is not one of the regular

¹ For other examples of the disappearance of serpents owing to clearing of woods, increase of population, etc., see Smith, p. 151 *sqq.*

² *Life*, ch. iii., quoted by Smith.

official designations of the Roman Empire, it is supported by two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Latin, which contain the words *prōtos Melitaeōn*, *Mel. primus*. The island was under the jurisdiction of the prætor of Sicily, who governed through a deputy. As soon as the season for navigation commenced, which was early in February, they set sail for Italy in another ship of Alexandria which had wintered in the island. After short delays at Syracuse and Rhegium they came to Puteoli, where Paul was landed, and after a seven days' visit to the brethren he proceeded by land to Rome. There for two years he remained under a mild form of imprisonment. He was allowed considerable freedom although kept chained to a soldier, and he availed himself of his freedom to confirm believers, to argue with Jews, and to correspond with distant churches. What took place in the years which followed this period of detention does not concern us here.¹ Even if the compilation of the Acts does not belong to this period there could be no more fitting climax to a narrative than this, for the preaching of Paul in Rome was indeed the *Apex evangelii: finis actorum*.²

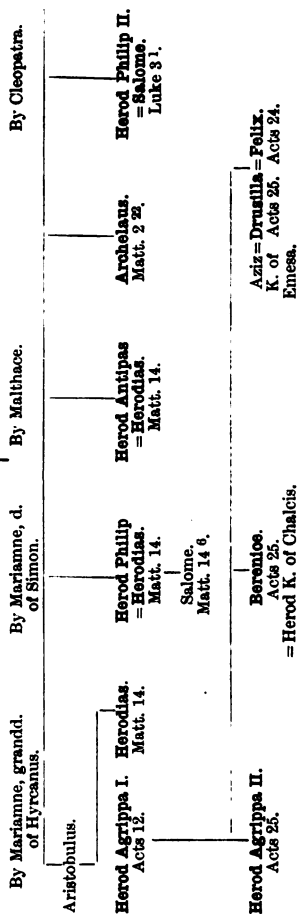
¹ See p. 24.

² Bengel.

APPENDIX I

FAMILY OF THE HERODS

HEROD THE GREAT Matt. 2.



APPENDIX II

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE ¹

Christian History.	Jewish History (Political).	High-Priests.	Roman History.
A.D. 30. Ascension of Jesus. May. Election of Matthias. Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.	A.D. 28-36. Pontius Pilate, procurator.	A.D. 25 (?) - 37. Caiaphas.	A.D. 14-37. Tiberius, sole emperor.
31. Death of Ananias and Sapphira.	36. Deposition of Pilate by Vitellius, Legatus of Syria. Marcellus appointed interim governor.		
36. Martyrdom of Stephen.	37. Herod Agrippa I., King of Judaea and Samaria.	37. Vitellius deposes Caiaphas and appoints Jonathan, son of Annas; whom he immediately deposes, and appoints Theophilus, another son of Annas.	37. Caligula, emperor. March. Birth of Nero.
37. Conversion of Paul.			
37-39. Paul in Arabia.	38. Maryllus appointed Hipparch of Judaea. Birth of Josephus.		

¹ Many of the dates contained in this table are matters about which there are differences of opinion, and into these it is impossible to go here. The generally accepted dates have been followed, except in the case of Paul's Epistles, where I have unreservedly followed Professor Findlay.

Christian History.	Jewish History (Political).	High-Priests.	Roman History.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
40. Conversion of Cornelius.	39. Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple. 40. Suicide of Pilate.		
	41. Herod Agrippa I., King of all Palestine.	42. Agrippa deposes Theophilus and appoints Simon, whom he immediately deposes, and appoints Matthias after offering the post to Jonathan.	41. Claudius, emperor.
43. Paul and Barnabas labour for a year in Antioch.		43. Agrippa deposes Matthias in favour of Elionæus.	43-51. Conquest of Britain.
44. Murder of James, Arrest of Peter. Paul and Barnabas visit Jerusalem with relief.	44. Death of Herod Agrippa I. at Caesarea. Herod of Chalcis succeeds to ecclesiastical power of Agrippa. Palestine reunited with Rome: Cuspius Fadus, procurator.		
45. First missionary journey.		45. Elionæus deposed by Agrippa in favour of Joseph.	

46. Tiberius Alexander, procurator.	47. Joseph deposed in favour of Ananias.	
48. Death of Herod of Chalcia. Herod Agrippa II. succeeds him. Cumanus, procurator.		
50 or 51. Council of Jerusalem. Collision with Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2.).		
52-54. Second missionary journey.		52. Decree of Claudius, banishing Jews from Rome.
53. <i>Epistles to the Thessalonians.</i>		53. Gallo, proconsul of Achaia.
55-59. Third missionary journey.		54. Nero, emperor.
58-59. <i>Epistles to Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans.</i>		
59. Arrest of Paul: examination before Felix.	57. Jonathan, ex-high-priest, assassinated by Sicarii.	59. Nero murders his mother, Agrippina.
	59. Ananias deposed in favour of Ithmael.	

Christian History.	Jewish History (Political).	High-Priests.	Roman History.
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
60. Appeal to Caesar.	60. Porcius Festus, procurator.		
61. Voyage to Rome.	61. Death of Festus. Albinus, procurator.	61. Ishmael deposed in favour of Joseph.	
62. Stoning of James the Just, by order of Ananus.		62. Joseph deposed in favour of Ananus, who immediately is deposed in favour of Jesus, son of Damneus.	
62-64. Two years of captivity in Rome. <i>Epistles to the Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, Philippians.</i>			
64. Release of Paul. Visits to Asia, Greece, Macedonia, Crete, and Spain (?).	64. Gessius Florus, procurator.	64. Jesus, son of Damneus, deposed in favour of Jesus, son of Gamaliel.	64. Nero appears on the boards of a public theatre in Naples. Great fire of Rome: imputed to Christians.
		65. Jesus deposed in favour of Matthias.	65. Seneca and Lucan put to death: Gallo shortly afterwards.
66. <i>Epistles to Timothy and Titus.</i>	66. Conflict between Jews and Gentiles at Caesarea: considered by Josephus as the opening of the great Roman-Jewish war.	66. Annias assassinated by Sicarii.	

67. Martyrdom of Paul.		67. Pharias, the last high-priest : chosen by lot by the Zealots.
	70. Siege of Jerusalem : burning of the Temple.	68. Murder of Nero. Galba, emperor. 69. Otho and Vitellius, emperors. 69. Vespasian, emperor.

APPENDIX III

QUESTIONS UPON THE ACTS

I HAVE for the most part endeavoured to frame questions which will require thought, rather than mere memory, and for that reason there is no request for the description of incidents. As far as possible I have made the questions follow the narrative, but in some cases it will be seen to be impossible.

CHAPTER I

1. What evidence is afforded by the preface (1 1-5) as to the authorship of the Acts? What other evidence is there to be deduced from the book itself?
2. Explain the nature and the origin of the misconceptions of the Apostles concerning "the kingdom" of Jesus.
3. How is it that Peter seems to take the lead in the early days of the Church, whereas James presides at the Council in ch. 15?
4. Give three other instances, from Old Testament or New Testament, of the casting of lots in connection with religious organisation and worship.
5. Give, in your own words, the main contention of Peter's speech on the Day of Pentecost, especially making clear the pertinence of the quotation from Joel.
6. Show clearly the grounds upon which (1) the Pharisees,

- (2) the Sadducees, would be hostile to the Christians.
7. Discuss the question of "community of goods" with reference to the life of the early Church.
 8. Show how the change wrought in Peter's character was in itself the most convincing evidence of the Divine nature of his message.
 9. Discuss the possible explanations of Gamaliel's intervention on behalf of the Apostles.

CHAPTER II

10. Explain the origin of the Hellenists.
11. What was the accusation brought against Stephen? How far was it founded on fact? Give a full exposition of his defence, with special notice to his lengthy narration of the career of Moses.
12. Sketch briefly the history of the Samaritans, dwelling fully upon every point which explains the mutual hostility between them and the Jews.
13. Explain the nature of the sin of Simon Magus. Give a short account of the early legends concerning him. What use is made of him by the Tübingen school?

CHAPTER III

14. Make a careful comparison of the three accounts of Paul's conversion, dwelling upon any point of importance in the comparison.
15. What contributions are made to the story of Paul's conversion by Gal. 1, 2? Show the extreme significance of Gal. 1 i. 16. 17.
16. Form from Luke's narrative an estimate of the character of Barnabas.

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17. Explain fully the parable contained in Peter's vision of the sheet let down from heaven.
18. Show the significance of 9⁴³ 10³⁴ 10⁴⁷ from the point of view of Peter's "education."
19. Discuss the origin of the designation "Christian."

CHAPTER IV

20. Carefully summarise Paul's address at Pisidian Antioch.
21. What light is thrown on Paul's reception at Lystra by the legends related by Roman writers?
22. Who was the James who presided at the Council of Jerusalem? Give the drift of the legends concerning him.
23. What is there to be said *for* and *against* the position of the Judaisers?
24. Discuss the attitude of Peter upon this question, in the light of Gal. 2.
25. What defence may be made for Paul's refusal to take Mark with him on his second tour?

CHAPTER V

26. Discuss the Galatian question from the standpoint of evidence, and also of abstract probability.
27. Why does the circumcision of Timothy not come within the scope of the decision given by the Council? How does his case differ from that of Titus (Gal. 2)?
28. Explain the conduct of the Philippian magistrates.
29. To what did Paul's claim to Roman citizenship amount? How did his family come to possess it? Why did he not use it at Philippi?

CHAPTER VI

30. Discuss fully Stoicism and Epicureanism *in their relation to Christianity*.
31. Expand Paul's address to the Athenians so as to render more clear the nature of his argument.
32. Which is the better interpretation of "Areopagus"? Give reasons for your answer.
33. On what grounds did Gallio act as he did towards Paul?
34. Describe the circumstances referred to in ch. 18 18 (last clause), and explain why Paul acted thus.

CHAPTER VII

35. Collect the evidence afforded by the Acts and Paul's Epistles concerning the work of Apollos.
36. What were the *Ephesia grammata*?
37. What is known concerning the worship of Diana, beyond what is contained in ch. 19? Point out the wisdom of the town-clerk's address to the mob.
38. Summarise Paul's address to the Ephesian elders at Miletus. Show how it is illustrated by Rev. 2 1-7.

CHAPTER VIII

39. Explain fully the ground of the riot against Paul (ch. 21).
40. What is the most likely explanation of ch. 23 1-5?
41. Show that Paul was not doing a disingenuous thing in appealing to the Pharisees against the Sadducees.
42. What do Josephus and Tacitus tell us concerning Felix?
43. Explain why Paul appealed to Cæsar.

CHAPTER IX

44. What may we infer from these chapters concerning the functions of this Roman officer Julius?
45. State the main facts which have to be reckoned with in the navigation of these seas. Illustrate from these chapters.
46. Discuss fully the Melita question.
47. What do we know and what can we surmise concerning the years of Paul's first imprisonment, and what followed?

GENERAL.

48. Give instances of Luke's—
 - a. Accuracy in use of titles, etc.
 - b. Candour in relating facts which tell against his heroes.
49. Show the bearing upon the historical narrative of the readings in chs. 11 20 and 28 16.
50. Collect points in which the narrative of Luke receives corroboration from heathen writers.

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